

# THE SCOTTISH REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE CAUSE OF THE  
INDEPENDENCE OF SCOTLAND

Volume 42

Spring, 1919

Part 93

EDITOR - RUARAIÐH ARASCAIN is MHAIR.

## Contents

The Dictatorship of the Parliament.

Pétition Nationale de l'Ecosse pour obtenir sa Représentation au  
Congrès de la Paix.

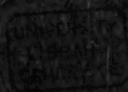
Now for the Next Election. By William Dick.

The Celt in Ireland. By H. C. Macdonald.

How Would it Do? By Ruaraidh Arascain is Mhair.

Chronicles of the Quorum.

Correspondence.



Perth

Milne, Tannahill, & Methven, 12-14 Mill Street

Edinburgh: 24 George Street.

# Guth na Bliadhna

---

Edited by RUARAIÐH ARASCAIN is Mheirr.

Published  
Quarterly in  
February, May,  
August, and  
November.



Annual  
Subscription,  
£4-1  
or 7 Dollars  
24 Cents.

The Scottish Gaelic Organ of the Celtic Renaissance.

---

GUTH NA BLIADHNA,  
12-14 MILL STREET,  
PERTH.

THE  
SCOTTISH REVIEW

SPRING, 1919

*The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*



WHEN we consider the many variations of political fortune to which mankind has been exposed since the beginning of authentic history, and the little real happiness which those successive revolutions of Fortune's wheel have brought to us, that man must be sanguine indeed who is not filled with despair. From the very earliest times, the gospel of justice, plain-dealing, mercy, moderation, and common honesty has been preached to the ruling-classes. In the maxims of Seneca will be found enough virtue to clothe generations of consuls. The pages of Polybius teem with wise exhortations, addressed to all rulers of the earth, and admirably designed to promote their civil perfection. Thucydides was no less a friend to virtue in governors. Tacitus was another historian whose deductions from the events of his times were uniformly on the side of the angels, and opposed to the machinations of king-craft. Philip de Comines lectured

# Guthrie

Edited by RUAR

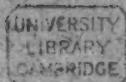
Published  
Quarterly in  
February, May,  
August and  
November

The Scottish Gaelic

GUTHRIE

18





# The Scottish Review

SPRING, 1919

## *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*



WHEN we consider the many variations of political fortune to which mankind has been exposed since the beginning of authentic history, and the little real happiness which those successive revolutions of Fortune's wheel have brought to us, that man must be sanguine indeed who is not filled with despair. From the very earliest times, the gospel of justice, plain-dealing, mercy, moderation, and common honesty has been preached to the ruling-classes. In the maxims of Seneca will be found enough virtue to clothe generations of consuls. The pages of Polybius teem with wise exhortations, addressed to all rulers of the earth, and admirably designed to promote their civil perfection. Thucydides was no less a friend to virtue in governors. Tacitus was another historian whose deductions from the events of his times were uniformly on the side of the angels, and opposed to the machinations of king-craft. Philip de Comines lectured

## The Scottish Review

Louis XI. for his good, and Sully, Henri IV. Even the counsels of Machiavelli were not uniformly corrupt, there being many virtuous notions and principles of the highest worth scattered through those otherwise sombre and immoral pages. *The Idea of a Patriot King* was formulated by Bolingbroke in order that one at least of the follies called George might benefit by the exhortations of a reasoned and a respectable statesmanship. Indeed, when we come to consider the vast volume of the literature that has been poured forth in order that kings and princes might mend their manners, and their ministers and satraps might improve their virtue, we shall stand aghast—dismayed and confounded not less by the poor effects which that literature has worked in the class to which it is primarily addressed, than by the extraordinary richness and voluminousness of this sort of teachings.

Nor have policies and modes of government been in any degree less favoured by the attentions of those whose end has been the moral improvement of mankind through the channel of the various forms of political society to which we are fond to submit ourselves. The speculations of Aristotle are a case in point. In the "Laws," Plato made himself out a law-giver. Will not the names of Mably, Mirabeau, Mariana, Montesquieu, Deschamps, Bodin, and Tocqueville immediately occur in this connection? And those of many other such thinkers and writers who have escaped our first recollection, will not reflexion soon raise them up to the surface of our memories? Of a truth, this literature is not less extensive, or less instructive, than the cognate teaching to which we have referred. Alike

## The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

in those respects, it is further similar in this, that it has failed of its object as completely as the other has done. Forms of government remain as imperfect, and as little respectable, as they were when first criticism of a remedial nature was applied to them ; and our governors and rulers would appear to be just as fruitful of the Old Adam as they were when genius, uniting itself to virtue, set out to cure them of the moral distempers by which their kind, through pride and ambition, greed, and lust of conquest, is apt to be afflicted.

From Plato, the illustrious forerunner of Christianity, down to the latest expounder of honesty and plain dealing ; here, indeed, is an extensive interval, as well, perhaps, of talent as of time. And yet how small and slender has been man's moral progress in all those years, and under all those teachers. His political habits are still as ancient " filthy rags," held together by a few recent patches, to which he has affixed, in all the pride of the ingenious savage, the tawdry emblems of his mechanical skill. Who is there that, passing in rapid review before his mind's eye the principal events characterising European history from, say, the Italian Renaissance down to our own day, will not be thoroughly ashamed of human nature ? What has been the horrible war through which we have just passed, if not a hideous orgy of dreadful bestiality ? We affect to shudder when we read that Nero kicked his pregnant wife to death ; that the doting Claudius was despatched by a faithless fiend in female form, whom he had improperly married ; that justice was indebted to a foul matricide for the removal of Agrippina, and that Caligula was suffered

## The Scottish Review

to reign four years before he was sent to join the monsters that inhabit the most awful parts of hell. Are we, however, so very much better than they that, with blood-stained hands and disordered looks, we can afford to beat our breasts and raise our eyes to heaven in pious thankfulness that we are not as they were, even those bestial Romans of old—liars, cheats, hypocrites, unconscionable oath-breakers, vile materialists, and slayers of men ?

A celebrated English poet has warned us of the folly of disputing about forms of government ; but it is not a little singular that his philosophy in this respect was actively discounted by the life-long example of the distinguished person to whom the bard was indebted for the principal part of his own science. Poetic philosophy may affect to disdain those gropings of the human mind whose end is the discovery of the best form of government to which mankind can submit itself ; but the probability is that, until a reasonable degree of perfection is obtained in this respect, society will not cease from troubling, or consent to be at rest. It is obvious that forms of government are of the last importance to the human species, because, under one form or other of the known polities of the world, man is required to live, and move, and have his being. Consequently, that man who is indifferent to the form of government under which he lives is little respectable, if indeed he does not deserve to come under the condemnation pronounced by Pericles against those who, as private citizens, neglect their duty to the State.

We have spoken of the known polities of the world. What are these ? They are five in number, and are as



## The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

follow :—Democracy, Monarchy, Aristocracy, Theocracy, and Plutocracy. Examples, as well classic as modern, of each of these forms of government will readily occur to every reader. Touching the polity existing in these islands at the present moment, the judgment of Montesquieu, that England is a republic dressed up to look like a monarchy, is no longer true. That polity is now a plutocracy, though, faithful to their love of disguise and sham, the English persist in retaining their king.

The relative merits of the various forms of polity have exercised the minds of philosophers from Plato and Aristotle downwards. We do not propose to descend to any detail as to that matter on the present occasion, though we beg leave to observe in passing that, of all the known forms of government, an enlightened theocracy is, as it seems to us, the one best adapted to secure the " greatest good of the greatest number " of people. Were the genius, as the circumstances, of our times different to what, unfortunately, we know them to be, our solid respect for the opinions and learning of Hooker and De Maistre would be discovered in these pages in no uncertain or half-hearted fashion. The age of the Churchmen has gone, however ; and Aristotle's revolt against the theoretical science of Plato warns us to be on our guard against indulging the raptures of mere idealism.

Modern Europe is the product of two of the political forces we have named—Monarchy and Plutocracy ; though, doubtless, traces of the influence of the other three are observable in the pass to which public affairs have been conducted up to the present time of writing.

## The Scottish Review

Nevertheless, it is the kingly and imperial power, acting in conjunction with Capitalism, that has fashioned modern political and social Europe, and will continue in all probability to mould and fashion it, in accordance with the principles underlying those politics, unless Democracy, in the shape of the Russian Revolution, destroys them both.

The theory of the " Dictatorship of the Proletariat " is not without its analogies in a polity which is seemingly the very antithesis to that from which the theory of the supremacy of the people is drawn. When the Roman people surrendered their rights and liberties into the hands of the Caesars, the fact was excused on the ground that the transference in question represented a voluntary act on the part of the Roman people. It is easy to understand how, founding upon this hypothesis, the legal aiders and abettors of arbitrary power pronounced the Caesar, the sacred depository of the popular will, to be above the laws. Hence arose two things, the unspeakable usurpations of the Roman emperors, and the successive violent removals of them by the people, as soon as their exactions, cruelties, and tyrannies had become unsupportable. Thus, whimsically, do the two extremes of which we are treating meet. The power of imperial Rome, the great archetype of the empire of our own days, and the everlasting symbol of ordered tyranny and materialism, was supposed to rest in the free and unfettered suffrage of the Roman people. The " Dictatorship of the Proletariat " must mean, if it is to mean anything in practical politics, the possession and the exercise of absolute power on the part of the People. Nevertheless, this is the polity

## The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

in whose custody the near future of the world would appear to rest.

European history is little better than one continued scene of villainy and bloodshed, and we have already remarked that the contemplation of that scene is calculated to give rise to sentiments of the deepest pessimism. For this so melancholy result, human nature itself is no doubt largely responsible, which is ever backward to put in practise the virtuous principles to which it is fond to do lip-service. We apprehend, however, that it will be allowed by every impartial observer that the politics under which the civil government of Europe has hitherto been carried on have been principal causes of the crimes and miseries that conspire to fill the record of each European nation. Monarchy has been tried, and found wanting. The tendency of absolute power, however benevolent it may be as to design, is always to keep the people enslaved; and, in its worst forms, can only be regarded as a fiendish device for the manufacture and the perpetuation of a succession of hells on earth. As to Constitutional Monarchies, wherein the forms of absolute power are artfully blended with, and softened by, the emblems and manifestations of popular rule—such transparent compromises are impotent to work man's highest good, inasmuch as they are prevented by their very nature, as accommodations, from reaching those exalted regions in which the *summum bonum* is placed. Constitutional Monarchies may be compared to *cul de sacs*, in which King and People fruitlessly wander to their mutual vexation, one getting in the way of the other; and, for both, there is no way out, save by leaping over, or



## The Scottish Review

bursting through, the confines which preserve them in a durance which is as injurious to the interests of the people as, one would think, it must seem vile to the pride of the prince.

The principal vice of the Aristocratic form of government is selfishness. The noble, whether landlord or merchant, is indifferent to aught save the full and uninterrupted enjoyment of his own demesne. The most conspicuous modern example of this form of government, the Republic of Venice, endured for many hundreds of years ; but age without merit will hardly be accounted any strong recommendation in popular eyes. The history of that aristocracy is at best but a stained page. The abiding selfishness of the aristocratic governors, joined to discontents raised by the rigid form in which this polity is necessarily cast, have conspired, in most cases, to bring about its overthrow almost as soon as it has appeared. As a means to promote the happiness and welfare of the people, Aristocracy in Europe has been a failure as signal and abject as Monarchy, though, to give this discredited polity its due, its effects have been much less bloody than those of the former.

The action of the Democratic sentiment and principle on the constitution of civil government in Europe at the present day has been such as to render it not a little difficult to distinguish, in certain countries, the forms of their original constitutions under the later legal phenomena wherewith they are now so extensively overlaid. France styles itself a Republic, and is still fond to flatter itself on its great Revolution, which, however, was rather a bourgeois uprising than a

## The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

strictly democratic outbreak. Modern France is a Plutocracy. The generosities of which that country once was capable, if not fruitful, have long been laid aside; and in their room is—the existing State, a monied *imperium*, dressed up to look like a Republic. France is one of those countries at whose door the charge of blasting the past of Europe is to be laid. Let it take care that it does not render itself liable to a further charge of assisting to spoil its future.

The irruption of the United States of America into European political affairs had certainly carried with it the seeds of a more auspicious event, had the fact not taken place under a Plutocracy. There is something whimsical in the notion of President Wilson, the representative of a great Capitalist Power, acting the part of Good Samaritan to European civilisation, which of late has fallen among thieves again. He has poured in his oil and his wine; and now he is trying to set the unfortunate one on his own ass, preparatory to conducting him to the inn where safety and entertainment are provided for both great and small. Presently, doubtless, he will take out twopence, and depart his way, though, to be sure, the perfect fulfilment of this pleasing parallel will be seriously jeopardised if, as some contend, the Modern Good Samaritan intends to charge interest on the disbursements which his bowels will have caused him to make.

It has been said, and very ignorantly and ridiculously said, by some, that Karl Marx was the chief apostle of modern Materialism. That great man was nothing of the kind. He looked into history, and found it to be a scene of bloodshed and misery, dominated

## The Scottish Review

by economic facts. In a spirit of absolute detachment from vulgar sentiment, he set to work to discover and to explain those facts; and the deduction which he drew from them was, that society would continue to be as he stigmatised it until the Proletariat should come to be invested with the supreme power. Our own reflections, joined to the lesson of recent and contemporary events, have persuaded us that the judgment of the German Solomon is right. Until the people reign—until the Proletariat is everywhere in undisputed power—it were folly to expect enduring Peace, drastic Retrenchment, or honest and searching Reform. The other Politics we have named have had their day, and have abused that indulgence, in degrees which have varied in accordance with their powers and their opportunities to work mischief to mankind. It is possible, of course, that the Proletarian rule may disappoint in practise the glowing expectations formed of it by its friends, and may shew itself to be as little dependable as *medicina animi* as Monarchy, Aristocracy, and government by the Capitalist class have proved themselves to be so. When fortunes are low, hopes run high; but we beg leave to remark that, apart from the fact that real popular rule is as yet a practically unknown and untried force in political Europe, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, how dismally soever it might fail, could not possibly sin against humanity more deeply and unforgivably than the other systems of government have done. On these two negative grounds, it is well worth trying, even though its positive advantages should yet lie in the womb of the future.

## The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

*A propos* of much that is on the political carpet nowadays, it is related of Pythagoras that shortly before he was put to death by the Crotonians he remarked that it were better to be a bull for one day than an ox always. For our own parts, we fail to see the necessity of conforming to either of these very unphilosophic alternatives ; but, if a choice must be made, it were doubtless better to be an entire citizen, though but for a single day, than a wage-eunuch for the whole course of one's natural life.





# *Petition Nationale de l'Ecosse*

*pour obtenir sa Representation au  
Congres de la Paix*



L'ECOSSE est un des plus anciens Etats de l'Europe. Le caractère homogène de son peuple, dont la grande majorité appartenait à la race celtique, facilita grandement son union primitive, et fraya le chemin à l'érection subséquente du pays en monarchie indépendante, dont les limites géographiques correspondaient à celles de l'Ecosse d'aujourd'hui. Contestés par les desseins ambitieux de Souverains anglais, les libertés et les droits nationaux de la nation écossaise furent, après une longue guerre dévastatrice et sanglante, maintenus avec succès à la célèbre bataille de Bannockburn, événement après lequel l'Angleterre renonça définitivement, par un traité, à ses prétentions d'exercer une supériorité féodale sur l'Ecosse.

L'Ecosse et la France se trouvant toutes les deux menacées dans leur souveraineté et leur indépendance par les prétensions anglaises, formèrent alors une étroite alliance, laquelle commença même avant les Guerres de l'Indépendance, et continua jusqu'à l'évènement du Roi Jacques VI. d'Ecosse au trône d'Angleterre en l'Année 1603, après lequel elle ne fut pas renouvelée. Néanmoins pendant les troubles qui caractérisèrent le dix-septième siècle, les Délégués écossais furent envoyés en France pour traiter du

## Petition Nationale de l'Ecosse

renouvellement de cette Alliance, connue jusqu' à ce jour sous le nom de "Auld Alliance," (Vieille Alliance), et qui était non-seulement une aide matérielle pour sauvegarder ses libertés nationales contre les intrigues et attaques armées de l'Angleterre, mais aussi ouvrait à l' Ecosse la grande scène de la politique européenne, dont elle fut pendant toute la durée du seizième siècle un des " pions " les plus importants. L'amitié et l' alliance avec notre pays furent donc assidument recherchées par les têtes couronnées des Etats continentaux les plus importants, et grâce à ce rôle qu'elle joua, l'Ecosse s' éleva à une position bien au-dessus de son étendue, de sa richesse, et de sa population.

Ce fut comme souverain d'un royaume ancien et indépendant que Jacques VI. d' Ecosse devint Jacques 1<sup>er</sup> d'Angleterre. La succession de ce prince au trône d'Angleterre n'abrogea ni la souveraineté de l'Ecosse, ni ses libertés nationales. La mouvance en vertu de laquelle Jacques et les souverains suivants de sa lignee occupèrent les deux Trônes fut strictement établie sur les bases de dualité des plus caractérisée : ainsi, comme Roi d'Ecosse, les rois qui règnèrent sur les deux royaumes devaient souscrire au Serment du Couronnement Ecossais qui les obligeait à respecter la Constitution et les Lois établies, les Droits et les Libertés du pays de leurs ancêtres. L'existence du Parlement ou " Etats " d'Ecosse ne fut donc pas compromise par le cours dynastique des événements en raison desquels le Trône d'Angleterre venait en héritage à le Maison Royale d' Ecosse, aussi jusqu' à l'époque à laquelle le Parlement écossais se fondit avec celui d'Angleterre par le Traité d'Union de 1707,

## The Scottish Review

la législature écossaise conserva son indépendance, faisant ses lois, et témoignant, en toutes circonstances, de la plénitude des pouvoirs qui lui avaient été conférés par le Peuple écossais, duquel il relevait toutes ses fonctions et son autorité.

Vers l'année 1688, les exactions pratiquées par les derniers Stuarts en Ecosse devinrent intolérables à la majorité du peuple et celui-ci, s'unissant en rébellion à une partie du peuple anglais, expulsa les Stuarts. Après une intervalle, caractérisée par des troubles et des agitations intérieurs, la Couronne d'Ecosse fut offerte au Prince d' Orange qui l'accepta, souscrivit au Serment du Couronnement écossais et jura de faire respecter les Lois et de protéger les libertés du peuple sur lequel il était ainsi appelé à régner.

Guillaume d'Orange (Guillaume II. d'Ecosse) mourut sans héritier mâle, et la succession passa par un Acte du Parlement écossais, à la Princesse Anne, princesse protestante de la Maison de Stuart, qui, comme Reine d'Ecosse, souscrivit également au Serment d'usage et promit les protections coutumières.

En l'An 1702, vingt Délégués furent envoyés d'Ecosse en Angleterre par ordre de la Cour qui résidait alors en Angleterre, pour traiter de l'incorporation des deux pays. Ces négociations qui ne donnèrent aucun résultat, furent reprises en 1706, lorsqu' un Traité pourvoyant à la fusion des deux Parlements fut introduit dans la législature écossaise. A cette occasion, il est bon de faire quelques observations touchant l'attitude et la politique traditionnelles des Gouvernements anglais successifs par rapport à l'Ecosse, car ce sujet eut une grande importance sur les évènements des années 1702 et 1706.



## Petition Nationale de l'Ecosse

Des les premiers temps, la politique des anglais vis à vis de l'Ecosse fut dirigée en vue de détruire l'indépendance de cette dernière nation. Dans ce but, les Droits Féodaux furent en premier lieu revendiqués ; et lorsque, après Bannockburn, on fut obligé de mettre publiquement ces prétensions de côté, une politique destinée à fomenter la désunion, à encourager l'anarchie et à pensionner la perfidie et la trahison, fut adoptée et vigoureusement menée par les anglais pendant de longues années. Ceux-ci eurent vite reconnu que la réalisation de leurs desseins impérialistes étaient impracticables tant qu'une Ecosse indépendante existait. En conséquence, l'Angleterre plus grande, plus peuplée, plus riche et plus puissante, n'eut plus d'autre objet en vue que de détruire cette indépendance et d'arriver à l'assujettissement complet de la nation écossaise. Tous les moyens pour arriver à ce but furent employés, même l'assassinat de ceux qui présentaient quelques obstacles à la réalisation de leurs perfides desseins.

Quoique l'Union des deux Couronnes en 1603 fut un pas capital vers l'exécution de la conspiration anglaise contre l'Ecosse, ce succès ainsi réalisé n'était que partiel, et ne donnait qu'une satisfaction relative aux appétits anglais. Le Parlement écossais restant toujours un obstacle à la complète expansion de l'Impérialisme anglais, il fallait forcément le détruire. Ce Parlement dont l'esprit avait été de tout temps oligarchique et par conséquent anti-démocratique, fut encore lié davantage après la Restauration de Charles II. en 1660, le gouvernement de l'Ecosse ayant été transféré en Angleterre ou il résida dans un Conseil

## The Scottish Review

de la Couronne, composé d'instruments et de favoris de la Cour. A la tête des Impérialistes anglais se trouvaient la Cour et ses serviteurs ; et l'histoire du Parlementarisme écossais depuis la Restauration jusqu'à la Révolution de 1689, n'est autre chose qu'un record de luttes contre un pouvoir arbitraire et contre des usurpations tentées et pratiquées par des Ministres, dont la puissance émanant directement de la Couronne, rendait entièrement indépendant du Parlement Ecos-sais ; et bien que les desseins de la monarchie absolue fussent brisés par la Révolution de 1689, le changement de dynastie effectué à cette époque, ne dissipa nullement les desseins anglais contre les vestiges de l'indépendance écossaise. Des projets pour abolir le parlement écossais furent formés durant le règne de Guillaume d'Orange et aussitôt qu' Anne monta sur le double Trône, les Impérialistes profitèrent du caractère faible de cette Princesse pour organiser en 1702 par son entremise, la réunion des Délégués écossais mentionnée plus haut. Devant la violence des sentiments populaires en Ecosse où une véritable tempête d'indignation se déclencha contre eux, ceux-ci se virent obligés de renoncer à toute négociation. Etant donné cet échec, la Couronne et ses partisans jugèrent nécessaire d'essayer un autre moyen ; aussi en 1706 un Acte fut introduit par la faction de la Cour auprès du Parlement écossais pour légaliser un Traité par lequel celui-ci devait être à jamais incorporé au Parlement anglais.

Le terrain avait été bien choisi pour cet assaut. Les Etats Ecos-sais qui siégeaient en une seule Chambre à Edimbourg, représentaient peu le sentiment démo-

## Petition Nationale de l'Ecosse

cratique, et aucun moyen, tel qu'il en existe de nos jours, ne subsistait alors pour amener l'opinion populaire à prendre part dans les affaires, la conduite et les délibérations de cette Assemblée. Les principales charges étaient entre les mains de la Cour qui les destinait en récompenses à ses propres créatures, et l'or anglais ne fut pas une des moindres séductions dont ils se servirent pour encourager la trahison, et par ce moyen atteindre le but pour lequel l'Angleterre travaillait depuis si longtemps.

L'opposition au Traité faite par la minorité patriotique de la Chambre fut violente au dernier degré ; elle affirma et déclara hautement que le Parlement écossais ne possédait nullement le pouvoir de mettre fin à son existence et que le consentement de la Nation écossaise toute entière était nécessaire à la ratification d'un Traité d'Union, que les promoteurs de cette union savaient fort bien que ce consentement ne serait jamais obtenu, et que si l'on permettait d'accomplir cet outrage prémédité au droit des nations, cette honteuse injustice serait toujours une tache pour la Cour et le Gouvernement anglais, comme pour la poignée de mercenaires écossais qui auraient aidé et soutenu ses horribles desseins.

Des troubles et des émeutes, expression du mépris, de la haine et de l'indignation populaires, éclatèrent par tout le pays ; d'innombrables pétitions et protestations solennelles dénonçant le traité projeté, furent faites et souscrites par les Corporations écossaises. Pas une seule voix ne s'éleva en sa faveur. Dans leurs allées et venues au Parlement les promoteurs de l'Union furent obligés d'avoir recours à la protection

## The Scottish Review

armée contre la violence de la foule ; on protestait à l'intérieur de la Chambre et on vociférait à l'extérieur, déclarant que la Couronne n'avait nulle droit de fondre les Etats écossais dans le Parlement de l'Angleterre, et qu' en touchant à la législation, elle allait se détruire elle-même. La Reine avait juré de protéger les droits de la Couronne écossaise, dont un desquels était de convoquer les parlements ; elle s'était engagée par un Serment solennel, à conserver les institutions nationales de ses sujets écossais : abolir leur parlement était pour ainsi dire leur enlever tout espoir de sécurité à ce sujet. Mais à ces représentations comme à beaucoup d'autres tirées de la Jurisprudence écossaise et des Lois des nations, la Cour fit la sourde oreille ; la mesure d'union fut précipitée, les débats étouffés, et la critique accorda une tolérance dont la mesure extrême constituait une simple dérision de justice et de bonne foi.

Enfin le Traité fut passé. De tous côtés la soumission du Parlement écossais à la pression exercée sur lui, fut stigmatisée comme une disgrâce nationale, et tel était l'état de surexcitation du peuple, que s'il avait possédé des armes ou avait eu les moyens de s'en procurer, il se serait immédiatement soulevé. Satisfaite de son oeuvre, la Cour fixa un jour d'actions de grâces publiques ; mais pas une seule célébration ne suivit l'ordre royal. L'antipathie nationale contre l'Angleterre, la Cour et les Anglais, grandit tous les jours pour se transformer en une grande flamme de haine qui embrasa l'Ecosse toute entière. La tristesse et le découragement s'emparèrent du coeur de tout écossais auquel l'honneur, l'histoire, et les intérêts de la Patrie étaient si chers.



## Petition Nationale de l'Ecosse

Bien que les soulèvements armés des années 1715, 1719 et 1745 fussent ostensiblement des entreprises dynastiques, il faut en rechercher les véritables causes dans le mécontentement populaire engendré par le Traité d'Union ; les différentes proclamations Jacobites ayant rapport à ces soulèvements portent le témoignage incontestable de la véracité de cette assertion. Elles sont remplies de dénonciations du Traité d' Union qui, déclarent-elles, est considéré par la famille royale exilée en France comme nul et sans valeur. Ces soulèvements armés furent successivement supprimés par le Gouvernement anglais, mais non pas avant d'avoir causé une effusion de sang et ranimé la haine de l'Union et de ses oeuvres.

Les moyens employés pour éteindre les cendres encore brûlantes de la dernière conflagration, celle de 1745, sont probablement uniques dans les annales ensanglantées de la férocité impériale ; "Après Cul-loden," écrit un honorable témoin oculaire de cette époque, "dont les observations ont été imprimées, " les *Redcoats* (Soldats anglais) non-seulement assassinèrent les blessés et massacrèrent les spectateurs sans armes, mais comme des démons incarnés, ils sévirent par tout le pays, assassinant les femmes, les enfants et les vieillards infirmes dans beaucoup d'endroits ; en brûlant d'autres dans leurs granges et dans leurs maisons, sans distinction de sexe, pendant les uns par le menton à des crochets de fer et par les pouces, les fouettant ensuite jusqu' à la mort." Tels furent quelques uns des moyens employés pour anéantir la résistance écossaise vis à vis de ce Traité illégal de la soi-distant " Union " de 1707.

## The Scottish Review

Après l' écrasement de l'Insurrection de 1745, un Acte de désarmement fut passé au Parlement anglais et appliqué avec vigueur aux parties " mal disposées " de l'Ecosse. La situation du pays était déplorable au dernier degré et quant aux avantages commerciaux que certains espéraient retirer de l'Union, aucun indice ne venait confirmer ces espérances. Des tentatives pour révoquer le Traité d'Union furent faites au Parlement anglais, mais ces efforts eurent aussi peu de succès que n'en avaient eu les opérations correspondantes sur le champ de bataille. Sans armes et sans argent, privé de tout autre moyen de détruire le mal fait en 1707, faut-il s'étonner que le peuple écossais ait abandonné pour quelque temps une lutte désespérée et ait été réduit à recourir à mille expédients pour endurer ce que la fortune de la guerre, jointe à la fourberie des politiciens, l'avaient condamné à souffrir.

Cependant, l'esprit national n'était que momentanément étouffé, aussi ce fut avec enthousiasme que les principes de la Révolution française furent accueillis en Ecosse et cultivés avec zèle par un grand nombre de sociétés et de clubs populaires, dont le but unique et collectif était d'amener à exécution ces principes sous la protection d'une République écossaise. Le soulèvement armé qui se concertait fut malheureusement révélé par trahison avant que l'heure fixée pour la prise d' Edimbourg et la proclamation de la République fut venue. Les chefs de ce mouvement furent arrêtés et jetés en prison, et une tentative de soulèvement, mal dirigée par une partie du peuple, fut immédiatement réprimée par les forces militaires de la Couronne.

## Petition Nationale de l'Ecosse

La période entre le Congrès de Vienne et l'année révolutionnaire de 1848 est une des plus troublée et des plus triste de l'histoire de notre pays. En 1848 les sentiments républicains s'enflammèrent de nouveau en Ecosse ; de nouveaux clubs et de nouvelles sociétés furent établies sur une grande échelle et ceux qui existaient déjà furent purifiés, refondus et régénérés par un sang nouveau. Des armements furent faits et l'opinion publique se rendit compte que l'Ecosse était à la veille de graves événements.

L'effondrement du mouvement Chartiste en Angleterre détruisit les espérances d'une agitation correspondante en Ecosse. Les années stériles précédant 1848 furent suivies d'une efflorescence considérable de prospérité commerciale, et sous l'influence de ce changement, l'esprit national écossais sembla visiblement, et l'assimilation pour laquelle les Impérialistes anglais avaient si longtemps complotés fit des progrès rapides et alarmants. Ce fut la Cause de l'Irlande, victime aussi de la tyrannie de l'Angleterre et dont la triste histoire diffère si peu de la nôtre, qui réveilla d'abord le peuple écossais de l'ignoble stupeur dans laquelle il avait été temporairement jeté par un acquiescement trop facile aux fausses doctrines et aux dogmes de l'impérialisme anglais. On a vu que la même mesure qui avait été employée contre nous en 1707 avait été appliquée à l'Irlande en 1806, et que les mêmes moyens qui avaient causés à l'Irlande la perte de son parlement, avaient été employés pour nous priver du nôtre. Le cri s'élevant à cette époque de : " Home Rule pour l'Irlande," trouva généralement un écho en Ecosse, et le public, bien que souffrant



## The Scottish Review

des mêmes désavantages politiques que ceux imposés à nos frères irlandais en conséquence de l'Acte d'Union de 1806, consentit avec le plus grand désintéressement à s'effacer afin qu'on accordât la précedence à la juste réclamation de l'Irlande, précédence à laquelle elle n'avait pas strictement droit, en raison de l'ancienneté des griefs écossais. Les revendications irlandaises à l'Angleterre furent rapidement suivies par celles de l'Ecosse exigeant l'Autonomie ; dans ce but on établit des Associations assermentées pour assurer la restauration du Parlement écossais et grâce à cette agitation populaire les Représentants de l'Ecosse au Parlement de Westminster devinrent en majorité favorables aux désires nationaux. Des projets de loi pour établir un Parlement à Edimbourg ont été introduits dans cette Assemblée, mais jusqu'à présent l'opposition déployée par les Impérialistes anglais a toujours suffie pour empêcher son accomplissement. Les affaires en étaient à ce point, la demande de l'Ecosse se poursuivant simultanément avec celle de l'Irlande, lorsque la Guerre de 1914 éclata.

La violation de la Belgique par l'Allemagne et l'invasion du territoire français par la même puissance émurent fortement le coeur de la Nation écossaise qui retrouva dans ces événements une vive ressemblance avec ceux par lesquels son indépendance avait été anéantie. Ce fut donc dans un élan d'enthousiasme que la jeunesse écossaise à quelque classe de la société qu'elle appartint, se présenta en masse à l'appel de la France envahie et versa son sang valeureux pour la défense du Droit et des Libertés du Monde ! Les lauriers que la France et la Belgique lui ont si généreuse-

## Petition Nationale de l'Ecosse

ment accordés sur les champs de bataille témoignent d'un courage que l'ennemi lui même n'a pu s'empêcher de proclamer.

C'est donc à notre vieille Alliée la France, à l'héroïque Belgique, à tous ces grands hommes champions de la Liberté des Peuples, que nous sollicitons leur appui, afin que l'Ecosse dont l'esprit d'indépendance et de liberté existe toujours, en dépit d'un Traité d'Union obtenu par la fraude et la trahison, puisse être admise aux côtés des Nations qui prendront part aux grandes délibérations du Congrès de la Paix pour établir l'indépendance des petites nations jusqu'ici opprimées, et assurer par ce moyen, la tranquillité et la prospérité futures du Monde entier.

- <sup>1</sup> J. M. BIGGAR.
- <sup>2</sup> J. S. BROWN.
- <sup>3</sup> G. J. BRUCE.
- <sup>4</sup> STANLEY BURGESS.
- <sup>5</sup> G. B. CLARK, M.D.
- <sup>6</sup> OWEN COYLE.
- <sup>7</sup> ROBERT FOULIS.
- <sup>8</sup> JAMES GOLD.
- <sup>9</sup> DUNCAN MACGREGOR GRAHAM.
- <sup>10</sup> WILLIAM GRAHAM.
- <sup>11</sup> H. B. GUTHRIE.
- <sup>12</sup> THOMAS HAMILTON.
- <sup>13</sup> G. D. HARDIE.
- <sup>14</sup> J. M. HOGGE.
- <sup>15</sup> J. IZETT.
- <sup>16</sup> THOMAS JOHNSTON.
- <sup>17</sup> DAVID KIRKWOOD.
- <sup>18</sup> W. G. LEACHMAN.
- <sup>19</sup> A. LOGAN.

## The Scottish Review

- <sup>20</sup> M. MACCOWAN.
- <sup>21</sup> G. D. MACDOUGALL.
- <sup>22</sup> W. MACKIE.
- <sup>23</sup> JOHN MACLEAN.
- <sup>24</sup> NEIL MACLEAN.
- <sup>25</sup> P. MALCOLM.
- <sup>26</sup> W. H. MARTIN.
- <sup>27</sup> H. J. MAY.
- <sup>28</sup> JAMES MAXTON.
- <sup>29</sup> HECTOR MUNRO, M.D.
- <sup>30</sup> J. W. MUIR.
- <sup>31</sup> ROBERT MURRAY.
- <sup>32</sup> D. J. M. QUIN.
- <sup>33</sup> F. J. ROBERTSON.
- <sup>34</sup> E. SCRYMGEOUR.
- <sup>35</sup> E. SHINWELL.
- <sup>36</sup> R. SMITH.
- <sup>37</sup> ROBERT SPENCE.
- <sup>38</sup> S. C. STEPHEN.
- <sup>39</sup> W. M. WATSON.
- <sup>40</sup> L. MACNEIL WEIR.
- <sup>41</sup> J. C. WELCH.
- <sup>42</sup> A. WILKIE.
- <sup>43</sup> J. A. YOUNG.

<sup>1</sup> Le candidat démocratique à Paisley ; <sup>2</sup> Do. à Dundee ; <sup>3</sup> Do. à Inverness ; <sup>4</sup> Do. à Leith ; <sup>5</sup> Do. à Glasgow (Cathcart) ; <sup>6</sup> Do. à Lanark (Coatbridge) ; <sup>7</sup> Do. à Berwick et Haddington ; <sup>8</sup> Do. à Midlothian ; <sup>9</sup> Membre du parlement pour Hamilton ; <sup>10</sup> Membre du parlement pour Edimbourg (Central) ; <sup>11</sup> Le candidat démocratique à Glasgow (Camlachie) ; <sup>12</sup> Do. à Roxburgh et Selkirk ; <sup>13</sup> Do. à Glasgow (Springburn) ; <sup>14</sup> Membre du parlement pour Edimbourg (East) ; <sup>15</sup> Le candidat démocratique à Glasgow (Hillhead) ; <sup>16</sup> Do. à Stirling (West) ; <sup>17</sup> Do. à Dumbarton Burghs ; <sup>18</sup> Do. à Glasgow (Kelvin-side) ; <sup>19</sup> Do. à Stirling et Falkirk Burghs ; <sup>20</sup> Do. à Western Isles ; <sup>21</sup> Do. à Glasgow (Tradeston) ; <sup>22</sup> Do. à Glasgow (Partick) ; <sup>23</sup> Do. à Glasgow (Gorbals) ; <sup>24</sup> Membre du parlement pour Glasgow

## Petition Nationale de l'Ecosse

(Govan) ; <sup>25</sup> Le candidat démocratique à Ayr et Bute (Kilmarnock) ;  
<sup>26</sup> Do. à Dumbarton ; <sup>27</sup> Do. à Stirling (East) ; <sup>28</sup> Do. à Glasgow  
(Bridgeton) ; <sup>29</sup> Do. à Ross et Cromarty ; <sup>30</sup> Do. à Glasgow (Mary-  
hill) ; <sup>31</sup> Do. à Renfrew (West) ; <sup>32</sup> Do. à Glasgow (Central) ; <sup>33</sup> Le  
candidat independant à Caithness et Sutherland ; <sup>34</sup> Le candidat  
démocratique à Dundee ; <sup>35</sup> Do. à Linlithgow ; <sup>36</sup> Do. à Ayr et Bute  
(North) ; <sup>37</sup> Do. à Renfrew (East) ; <sup>38</sup> Do. à Ayr Burghs ; <sup>39</sup> Do. à  
Dunfermline Burghs ; <sup>40</sup> Do. à Argyle ; <sup>41</sup> Do. à Lanark ; <sup>42</sup> Membre  
du parlement pour Dundee ; <sup>43</sup> Le candidat démocratique à Edin-  
burgh (West).





## *Now for the Next Election*



THE Coalition has no friends. That much was evident before the new Parliament was many weeks in session. Its supporters are confined to interested partisans who tolerate the existence of the Lloyd George cabal because for the moment it serves their purpose to do so. Each group looks with sullen suspicion on the movements of the rival factions in the Coalition. To-day the supporters of Mr. Lloyd George are probably willing "to hang together," but that will not permanently avert the day when they will "all hang separately." Almost before the results of the election were declared the first signs of disintegration were apparent. Even before the new Parliament met disillusionment had set in.

The working-classes of the Entente countries have fought a great war to make the world safe for Democracy, only to find that the gyves of Conscription are still riveted firmly to their wrists. The huge new army of occupation that will be necessary in order to keep the heel of the Allies on the neck of the Huns will necessitate the maintenance of some form of Compulsory Service for an indefinite period.

The young men of Scotland have fought and bled to protect the rights of small nations; but there is a very grave danger that in the hands of the Jingoists and Chauvinists the World's League of Peace—from which a war-ravaged Europe had hoped so much—will be

## Now for the Next Election

fashioned into a confederation of big military powers. The rights of the small states of Europe have not yet been established.

Elated with the victory (which other men had won) the Coalition dictators plunged the country into a 'Hang-the-Kaiser' election. Hang-the-Kaiser-Barnes vied with Mr. Bottomley in demanding the blood of the Hohenzollerns. Hang-the-Kaiser candidates (who had shunned the firing line as the Devil shuns holy water) waxed heroic on the platform, and banged their patriotic fists on the table with a fervour worthy of the old-time Scottish pastor who "dang doon twa poopits an' drave the guts oot o' three Bibles" during his pastorate of a certain rural church. But the guilty war-lords—much though they may have deserved the fate which threatened them—are still safe and are even disposed to snap their fingers at the mob politicians.

The Hang-the-Kaiser election cry, nevertheless, served its purpose. The Coalition was able to boast of a spectacular victory—empty and unreal as most spectacular triumphs are. Then came the awakening. Trade-unionists, who had recorded their votes for the candidate pledged to execute summary vengeance on the Hohenzollerns awoke one morning to find that "the armed forces of the Crown" were being utilised not against the fallen monarchs of the Central Empires, but against the strikers of Glasgow and Belfast. Whatever the merits or demerits of the strikers' case may have been—and there is a good deal to be said on both sides—the attempt to terrorise the Glasgow "rebels" into submission by a display of military force has done

## The Scottish Review

more to foment the insurrectionary spirit among the organised workers than many months of so-called Bolshevik propaganda. The dictatorial tone adopted by the English Prime Minister in his dealings with the trade-unions has given rise to grave misgivings on the part of thousands of active trade-unionists who supported the Coalition candidates at the General Election.

But the dissatisfaction with the Coalition does not end there, although the growing gulf between Labour and the Government is perhaps its most significant feature. The timid and time-serving nature of the Reconstruction proposals of the English Cabinet has been a source of keen disappointment to thousands of voters of strong Radical sympathies who only a few short weeks ago "voted coalition" in the expectation that Mr. Lloyd George would inaugurate a vigorous policy of land reform and social amelioration. Already they are realising that they have been duped once more by scheming politicians, and that the erstwhile Radical demagogue of Limehouse notoriety is to-day securely thirled to the dukes and the rent-barons whom he once denounced so vehemently. It is obvious even to Coalition partisans that the Government schemes of land settlement and housing reform will be marred at the outset by the failure of the Cabinet to grapple boldly with the scandal of land monopoly. And yet that failure ought to have been foreseen. Counsels of common-sense ought to have warned the Radicals who voted Coalition—in some cases against their own better judgment—that a measure of social reform which will prove acceptable to Mr. Lloyd George's Tory colleagues will, from the point of view of Land



## Now for the Next Election

Reform and Democracy, be but a miserable tinkering sham, hopelessly and inexcusably inadequate. To attempt to devise a measure of land reform or housing reform which will satisfy both dukes and democrats is to attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable.

Thus it is that as the Government policy is unfolded—alike in its national and international aspects—conflicting elements become manifest, and that queer hotch-potch, the Coalition, is revealed in its true light. The three factors which will tend to bring about the downfall of the Coalition, probably at an even earlier date than the dupes of the Cabal anticipate, are :—

- (1) The increasingly acute differences between Labour, inspired by new ideals of Democracy, and a ramshackle Government, dominated by the forces of militarism and reaction.
- (2) The failure of the Lloyd George Government to give effect to its election pledges and to secure at the Peace Conference a place in the sun for the smaller nations of the world.
- (3) Growing dissatisfaction with the tinkering and time-serving nature of the Reconstruction proposals of the English Government, particularly on the part of earnest and enlightened land reformers.

To that, perhaps, may be added the perfectly natural resentment of the pot-house politicians at the failure of the War Cabinet to present President Wilson with the head of the Kaiser on a charger, and to punish the guilty war-makers. Already certain of the baser type of the sensation-mongering journals which helped

## The Scottish Review

to place Mr. Lloyd George in the saddle have been publicly beating their idol after the manner of deluded heathen, while others have ranged themselves in opposition, just as rats desert a sinking ship. The change of tone in that particular quarter is significant.

The three factors I have mentioned will also play a prominent part in fashioning the issues for the next General Election. There is no need to wait until the new writs are issued before beginning to prepare for the next great campaign. The campaign, indeed, must be continuous. As a result of the deluge of misrepresentation, accompanied by discreditable political trickery, the voice of the Opposition in Parliament has been virtually stifled. The Coalition caucus rides rough shod over the liberties of the people. It is imperative therefore that Labour and Democratic parties should arrange at once their plan of campaign. It will be necessary :—

To organise a strong and vigorous opposition outside Parliament.

To co-operate with the Scottish Labour Members, and the more Democratic elements in the English Labour Party, in keeping a vigilant watch on the doings of the Government, particularly in relation to land reform, housing, and pensions.

To demand the fulfilment of the Government pledges regarding military service, and to organise a vigorous campaign in favour of the immediate abolition of Conscription.

To keep prominently before the public the scandal

## Now for the Next Election

of land monopoly and its bearing on the Scottish problems of Reconstruction.

To interpret the meaning of the prevailing unrest, and to give voice and vision to the aspirations of the working classes of Scotland.

To set forth the claims of Scotland to national autonomy, and to call attention to the failure, from an administrative point of view, of bureaucracy and centralised officialdom.

To get a clear grip of the meaning of the recent political landslide.

To arrange a practical scheme of co-operation between the National and Democratic parties in Scotland and Ireland.

Such a plan of campaign, organised on broad, national lines, and carried out boldly and energetically, will bring together all the best elements in our political life, and ensure that when the ramshackle Coalition comes to its predestined end the Labour and National Parties in Scotland will be ready to meet the emergency.

Particularly imperative is it that the foul blot of Compulsory Service should be removed for ever from the national life of Scotland. The campaign against Conscription must be carried on boldly and resolutely. Nothing more shameless than the breach of the Government pledges in regard to Compulsory Service has been witnessed even during the profligate career of the Coalition. Coupon candidates pledged themselves during the election to vote in favour of the abolition of Compulsory Service. The Coalition dictators gave the

## The Scottish Review

assurance that the new army would be recruited on a voluntary basis. Was not this the war to end war, and to remove from the wrists of the working-classes of Europe the shackles of Conscription—that foul taint of Prussianism?

The manner in which these solemn pledges have been set at naught by the Government and the Coalition M.P.'s is a scandal and a reproach alike on public life and personal honour. Scarcely was the ink on their election pledges dry—scarcely had they taken their seats in the English Parliament—when the coupon M.P.'s were called upon by the Government to snap their fingers at their deluded supporters. They were ordered to swallow their promises before the session was many days old. And to their eternal discredit be it said, they swallowed obediently and copiously. The spectacle was a humiliating one—but, after all, politicians have changed but little since Mr. Russell Lowell's day:—

A merciful Providence fashioned them hollow  
In order that they might their principles swallow.

The swallowing was probably facilitated by the fact that their principles at best were of a somewhat shadowy and unreal character. Reflecting on this manifest weakness of the baser type of politicians I frequently recall the remark of an old friend of mine—now gone to his last long rest—on hearing that his son had abruptly changed his theological creed on the eve of his marriage to a wealthy widow. "But dae ye mean to tell me," said the indignant Scotsman, "that ye are gaun to change your Kirk?" "Yes, father," replied



## Now for the Next Election

the young man, "I have made up my mind to do so."  
"Ah, weel, Jamie," retorted the old man, with a pitying glance, "It's a gweed job you never had muckle o' a releegion to change!" And that is probably why certain politicians succeed in swallowing their principles with such extraordinary facility.

Let it be conceded that the Government were confronted with a somewhat difficult situation. They have become entangled to a dangerous extent with the Chauvinistic policy of France, and Italy is demanding the promised share of the spoil. All this will call for the maintenance of the mailed fist—not merely while peace negotiations are in progress, but for an indefinite period thereafter. That is but part of the aftermath of war, which discerning statesmen might easily have foreseen. Personally I have never been one of those who believed that when Germany was "down and out," when the Central Empires were smashed, an era of peace and concord would dawn in Europe. The foolish and superficial clap-trap about a war to end war may have served to arouse the patriotic fervour of the unthinking multitude, but discerning students of history detected the hollow ring. In the early weeks of the struggle, when Mr. H. G. Wells was banging the big drum and proclaiming to all the world that this was a war to end war, a war to smash militarism, I took the opportunity to sound a warning note against extravagant expectations of that kind.<sup>1</sup> Rather I urged there was a very real danger that the gyves of militarism would be riveted more firmly than ever on the wrists of the people of Scotland and England. Mr. Churchill's

<sup>1</sup> See *Scottish Review* Winter 1914 and Spring 1915.



## The Scottish Review

speech in the House of Commons on March 6th, on the occasion of the second reading of the New Army Bill, justifies with ominous detail these uneasy fears. The pretence that the new Bill is a temporary measure deceives no one—not even the docile politicians who “pawn the dirty linen of their soul daily” for an English O.B.E. or a Knighthood made in London. The Act will remain on the Statute Book until the working classes of Scotland and England make the Coalition dictators understand that it must be removed at once. The liberties of the people of Scotland are not to be made dependent on the attitude of France and Italy and Germany towards compulsory military service. Victory will have cost us dear if, in addition to the awful toll of young lives, we are to be compelled in the future to maintain by means of Conscription a large standing army on Continental lines. It was not for that that our sons and brothers laid down their lives on the battlefields of France and Flanders! Nor is there any reason why a new burden of that nature should be placed on the patient shoulders of the people of Scotland. America and the United Kingdoms can set an example to the rest of the world in that respect, and banish for ever from our national life the curse of compulsory military service. That is one of the tasks that lies ready to the hand of Labour and Democracy.

I have said that the world-wide unrest and the awakening spirit of Nationalism will play a prominent part in fashioning the issues for the next General Election. It will surpass the wit even of the Coalition caucus to fight and win two “Hang-the-Kaiser” elections in succession. There is a limit to the gulli-

## Now for the Next Election

bility even of the dupes of the Coalition. It may be well, therefore, to examine in some detail the social and political significance of the prevailing turmoil in the Labour world.

If the problem of industrial unrest could be solved by a welter of words, peace and concord would have been established in the world long ago. Labour and Capital would have been linked happily in one another's arms. But that halcyon day has not yet dawned.

Foolish beyond measure is the pitiable twaddle written by sensation-mongering journalists, and re-echoed by pinch-beck politicians, in explanation of the industrial upheaval. One scarcely knows whether to marvel most at the culpable sensationalism of the "Germany behind the strikers" cry, or at the foolishness of the unthinking multitude which quenches its intellectual thirst at that polluted stream. To seek for a German spy behind a whin bush every time a group of workers "downs tools," or to set traps for a misguided Bolshevik when the Clyde workers demand a shorter working day, is wholly to misunderstand the psychology of Labour unrest. So long as a wandering Russian fiddler strikes terror to the hearts of the Coalition sages, they are scarcely likely to discover the real significance of Labour unrest—not even by accident.

The Labour unrest is not merely a local symptom ; it is international in its manifestations. It is no exaggeration to say that all our European institutions are in the melting pot. The pot, indeed, is boiling and bubbling over. Frequently in recent days—when reflecting on the welter of anarchy, on the seething cauldron of Bolshevism and Revolution into which

## The Scottish Review

Europe has been plunged—I have recalled the prophetic remark of an old friend of mine, an Aberdeen advocate, who in his day did some good work for Scottish Radicalism, and whose distinction it had been to rescue from oblivion a notable pronouncement on land reform by an Aberdeen professor. The occasion was the visit—the first visit I think—of Karl Marx's daughter, the late Mrs. Eleanor Aveling, to the north of Scotland, more than a quarter of a century ago. In the course of a brilliant historical address, Mrs. Aveling took occasion to pass some scathing comments on the old-time wars of the churches—on the zealots who “murdered one another in the sacred name of Christianity.” The Aberdeen lawyer to whom I have referred made no comment on the matter at the time, or even in the course of the debate which followed the lecture. After the meeting was over, however, a few friends and co-workers were discussing with considerable animation some of the points raised by the speaker of the evening. Naturally, Mrs. Aveling's remarks on the sectarian wars called for comment, for in those days theological differences seemed to provoke sharper and more acrimonious controversy than they do to-day. The shrewd old lawyer listened for a moment, then, nodding his grey head sagaciously, he said to Mrs. Aveling: “Ah, yes! Ah yes! It is quite true that in the dark days that are now gone, members of rival religious bodies have persecuted and killed one another in the sacred name of Christianity.” Then, turning to some of us younger lads, he added: “I may not see it, but our young friends here may live to see the day when the Socialists

## Now for the Next Election

of Europe will murder one another in the name of Karl Marx ! ”

Naturally we exclaimed indignantly against the amazing suggestion, and the protests of Karl Marx's daughter were perhaps as loud as any. Murder and persecution in the name of Socialism, in the name of Universal Brotherhood ! We were “ young men in a hurry ” in these days ; and the mere suggestion of such a possibility was political blasphemy of which only a scoffing scrivener could be guilty.

But the whirligig of time has brought in its train some strange upheavals, and has proved that, after all, the canny Aberdeen lawyer was right. In Germany we have seen the armed forces of Herr Erbert and the late Karl Liebknecht arrayed against one another ; in the name of Social Democracy, the son of one of Karl Marx's chief disciples and most intimate friends, has been murdered by his Socialist enemies. And the war between the rival factions still goes on.

The prophecy, or prediction, of the discerning Aberdeen lawyer—which seemed so mad and wild and foolish twenty or thirty years ago—has been fulfilled with staggering accuracy of detail. A mad world truly !

I recall the incident for the purpose of emphasising the world-wide nature of the prevailing unrest and its varying manifestations. There is growing discontent with the old and discredited systems of government. The war has revealed as in a flash the fundamental truth that the hewers of wood and the drawers of water are the world's real indispensables—that the ploughmen, the builders, the engineers, the labourers and artisans



## The Scottish Review

keep the wheels of industry and the wheels of life running smoothly, and that the rent-barons and profiteers might in a properly-organised society be dispensed with to the advantage of all concerned. Nay more, in Europe—and more particularly in Scotland and England—we have seen that a mere fraction of the population can, at a pinch, perform all the necessary work, and supply all the food, fuel, and clothing required by the civil population, including the great army of munition workers and by our huge fighting forces by land and sea. The moral is obvious : if the work of the world can be done by a fraction of the population in war-time, then when the military forces are disbanded and the men and women and machinery engaged in manufacturing weapons of death and destruction are once more available for peace purposes, it ought to be possible—and it is possible—to supply all the reasonable needs of the human family without sweating in mine, factory, and workshop for nine and ten hours every day. That is one of the industrial lessons of the war that he who runs may read.

Labour must be raised above the level of drudgery. The working classes claim, and rightly claim, a greater measure of freedom and leisure than their fathers and grandfathers were ever able to secure. Our increasing industrial efficiency has made that not merely desirable but possible—possible without reducing even by a fractional part the wealth-producing powers of the country. That is the meaning of the united demands that are being made by the workers of Scotland and England for better conditions of life and for better housing, higher wages, and increased leisure.



## Now for the Next Election

The shameless profiteering that has been going on during the war has also been a prolific cause of discontent. Even before his latest advance in wages had reached the pockets of the worker, the profiteer had more than recouped himself by a substantial increase in the price of the necessities of life. Food control became farcical in its futilities. Scotsmen were compelled to help to pay the subsidy on the Englishman's ninepenny loaf, but the price of Scottish oatmeal was fixed at three times the pre-war standard. It was "controlled" at 4/6 to 4/8 per stone, while in pre-war days the best quality could be bought freely in Scotland at 1/6 to 1/8. Similarly with the price of fish and meat: the English standard ruled; Scotland was denuded of fish in order that the big hotels and hydros. south of the Tweed might be adequately supplied. Even in Aberdeen, the chief centre of the fishing industry in Scotland, there were occasions the other week when fresh fish were practically unobtainable at the retail dealers, although fairly large supplies were landed daily. The cream of the catch was purchased by southern buyers at prices with which the local buyers were unable to compete. Thus it was that whether under "control" or free competition, Scottish interests suffered. Prices for the staple necessities of life were fixed on the English standard, and Scottish housewives had to "pay the piper."

Retail prices of food, though falling slightly, are still 120 to 130 per cent. above the level of July, 1914. In Scottish beef the increase is 100 to 120, according to quality; in fish, 150 per cent.; in oatmeal—despite a reduction of about 1/- within the past few weeks—the rise is still 120 per cent. over 1914 prices.

## The Scottish Review

The moral of the war prices is obvious ; not till the people of Scotland obtain effective control of the land and the great monopolies—not until these are owned and controlled by a Democratic State, will it be possible permanently and effectually to eliminate the profiteer. That is yet another task which lies ready to the hands of the Labour and Democratic parties in Scotland.

But there is a constitutional as well as an industrial aspect of the problem of unrest—and the constitutional aspect is particularly important in view of Labour's preparations for the next General Election. The Labour Party, in the December campaign, put up a magnificent fight against heavy odds. Right from the outset it was obvious that Labour was providing the only organised and effective opposition to the motley crowd of rent-barons, profiteers, and tame trade unionists masquerading under the guise of a Coalition. In Scotland and England the party polled in contested seats 2,482,000 votes. A notable record certainly, when one remembers the discreditable campaign of misrepresentation and abuse which the Labour candidates had to face. This vote under a really Democratic system of government would have entitled the party to 120 seats ; the actual number secured—of all sorts and sizes—was only 62.

Even more eloquent are the lessons of the campaign in Scotland. The total Labour poll in Scotland in 1910 was 33,000 votes ; in the 1918 election it was 319,572—approximately one-third of the total votes recorded. But that fairly substantial vote did not secure one-third of the seats contested. The number of Labour candidates returned for Scotland is

## Now for the Next Election

only seven, whereas in proportion to the votes obtained by the party candidates, there ought to have been 16 or 17. In Glasgow and the Clyde district, 180,000 Labour Party votes were cast, and one Member of Parliament, and one only, is the net achievement. That is not Democracy. It is the triumph of the caucus and the party machine.

The net upshot of the election is that a cumbrous and lop-sided cabal has been returned to power with less living moral authority behind it than any other Government within the past half-century. The working-classes, comparing the votes polled with the results secured, are reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the political machine has failed them—that constitutional methods have been brought into discredit by the trickery and chicanery of the politicians. In the London Parliament, the views of Labour are altogether inadequately represented. Several sturdy representatives of Scottish Democracy have been returned, but their voting power is swamped by the coupon M.P.'s of the North, and the reactionary mass of English Toryism and militarism. It is scarcely surprising therefore that some of the younger men have become impatient of the slow and dilatory methods of the politicians. Probably they never quite expected the new heaven and the new earth which frenzied war-mongers promised them four-and-a-half years ago. That pestilential clap-trap, one may fervently hope, was taken at its real value. But the young men who have fought and won the war for us will not willingly return to the conditions which have been tolerated for generations by their fathers and grandfathers.

## The Scottish Review

The foolish bluster of the English Prime Minister is brushed contemptuously aside. The working-classes of these Kingdoms have beaten Prussianism in Germany, and that victory has been won, not by the political demagogues of Westminster, but by the deathless valour of our sons who will never return. The soldiers in the trenches, the engineers, the shipyard workers, the miners digging fuel in the bowels of the earth—these are the men who merit the reward of victory. The young men who return from the charnel-house in Flanders will insist, and rightly insist, that Labour must receive its rightful share of the wealth which it produces. The time has come when the workers of Scotland will decline to occupy a subordinate position. Their minimum demand is practical and effective co-operation in the control of industry. That is the real significance of the comprehensive demands of the miners, the transport workers, and the railwaymen. That is the meaning of the labour revolts on the Clyde. The duty of the Labour Party in Scotland, the duty of the Scottish Nationalists, is to give voice and vision to the new aspirations of the working-classes, and to organise, in view of the next appeal to the country, the effective voting power of the movement. That is the first step to be taken to strengthen the hands of the Scottish Labour M.P.'s and at the same time prepare for the coming election.

The Labour M.P.'s of Scotland may be but a small band, but they number in their ranks some sturdy democrats. Men like Mr. William Graham, M.P. for Central Edinburgh; like my old friend, Mr. Neil MacLean, who rescued Govan from the Philistines;



## Now for the Next Election

and Mr. Duncan Graham, are not only trusted representatives of Labour and Democracy, but sturdy Scottish Nationalists as well. South Edinburgh's Labour M.P. struck a fine note in his maiden speech. He submitted a strong case for national autonomy in regard to pensions, and had little difficulty in showing that the attempt to govern Scotland from Downing Street would inevitably lead to delay and confusion, and that bureaucratic methods are as costly as they are inefficient. Mr. Graham, moreover, has been doing admirable work on behalf of the discharged soldiers, and is rapidly establishing his claim to be Pensions Minister in the first Scottish Parliament. Mr. Neil MacLean can speak with knowledge and authority on the Co-operative movement in Scotland. He has a sound grasp of economic problems, and his brief speech on Labour unrest sounded a clear ringing note of Scottish independence. The other Scottish Labour M.P.'s—each in his own sphere—may be relied upon to give a good account of themselves in the London Parliament.

Candour compels one to admit, however, that the English Labour members are somewhat less satisfactory. There is a lack of distinctive personality. "Stodgy trade-unionism personified" aptly sums up the typical English Labour M.P. The English group lacks the moral authority of its predecessors. Even those who differed most from the Pacifist M.P.'s recognised their political rectitude, their debating powers, and their statesman-like grasp of labour and social problems. There is a wide gulf fixed between the puerilities of Mr. John Hodge, and the firm grasp of



## The Scottish Review

financial problems which characterised the speeches of Mr. Philip Snowden ; between the frothy clap-trap of Mr. Havelock Wilson and the moral strength and sterling honesty of purpose displayed by Mr. Arthur Henderson ; between the Pecksniffian pretensions of Mr. Clynes and the intellectual virility of Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald ; between the crude platitudes of Mr. Roberts and the moral fervour and lofty idealism of the late Mr. William Anderson.

I mention these things not for the purpose of casting stones at the new group of Labour M.P.'s. The hurling of brick-bats may fittingly be left to their fair-weather friends, and to the jingo mob which helped to give them their places in the English Parliament. The brick-bats will come from that quarter in due course. It is necessary, however, to ascertain clearly all the relative facts in order to grasp the meaning of the new political situation, and to discover the steps that must be taken to prepare for the next General Election. One of these fundamental facts is that the leadership of Labour in England has passed out of the hands of the Parliamentary Party. From the English Labour M.P.'s there comes neither guidance nor inspiration. There may be, and indeed are, exceptions to the general rule : the doughty Mr. Thomas is still M.P. for Derby ; and Mr. Dan Irving, who has captured Burnley for the Hyndman Party, might not unjustly be described as one of the best type of jingo Socialist. But the regrettable truth is nevertheless written in letters so clear that he who runs may read : The English Parliamentary Party has ceased to lead—even in England. The divine gift of leadership does

## Now for the Next Election

not accompany a seat in St. Stephen's, nor does it come with Cabinet rank. If recent experience has taught us anything it is that a Labour M.P. in a Ministry composed of Reconstructed "Liberals" and fossilised Tories is a miserable political failure. A Smillie at the head of a well-organised trade-union is worth a dozen Clynes in a Coalition Cabinet. That truth had become obvious to the rank and file of the party long before the Labour Ministers could be persuaded to turn their backs on the flesh pots of the Egyptians.

The moral and intellectual leadership of the Labour Party remains in the hands of the men who, for the time being, have been rejected by the English electorate.

Effective opposition to the hotch-potch Coalition must be organised not inside, but outside, the House of Commons.

These are the fundamental facts which must guide us in organising the forces of Scottish democracy for the next great political campaign.

Closely allied to the problem of Labour unrest—and to the kindred problems of housing and unemployment—are the rock-bottom questions of land reform and Scottish national autonomy. There is an urgent demand for land for public purposes. Land is required for the garden cities and villages which may one day take the places of the foul slums and dreary tenement-barracks that to-day disfigure so many of the great industrial centres of Scotland. Land is wanted in the agricultural districts for the settlement of our soldier-

## The Scottish Review

heroes, for the extension of existing holdings, and for improved transport. On what basis is it to be acquired? The spokesmen of the Government will doubtless reply in the jargon of the political economists that the nation must pay the fair "market value as between a willing buyer and a willing seller." It is notorious, however, that during the past four-and-a-half years there has been an extraordinary inflation in the selling value of land. The selling price has been inflated artificially by the operations of the Corn Production Act, and by the abnormal economic conditions created by the war. These circumstances have reproduced some of the worst features of the old Corn Law regime. Profiteering by farmers has been encouraged in shameless fashion by the Government. Oats, wheat, barley, beef and mutton, eggs and poultry, vegetables and market-garden produce—all have increased in price, in some cases by 100 to 250 per cent. Conditions were created by the war which did not differ materially from that discredited system of Protection which two or three generations ago an unconventional politician declared was "not only dead but damned." Even the Food Controllers dealt generously with the agriculturists. An old farmer friend of mine mentioned a significant fact to me the other day which sheds a flood of light on war-time profits. He was a highly-respected Scottish farmer of the old type—a douce Kirk elder—whose only dissipation was a very modest dram on market days. He had spent a fairly long life-time on the farm, and had acquired (as he deserved to do) a modest competence. Scarcely six months before the outbreak of the war he retired, leaving to his eldest

## Now for the Next Election

son the tenancy of a well-stocked and well-conditioned farm. "And what do you think," quoth the worthy old man to me the other day, "Ye wad hardly believe 't, but d'ye ken that the laddie has made mair siller aff o' that fairm durin' the last fower-an'-a-half years than I made for a hale life-time."

Multiply that episode not by hundreds, but by thousands, and one obtains a fairly accurate idea of what the war has done for agriculture. Nor is this all. Even though the Corn Production Act were scrapped—as it ought to be scrapped—on the first legitimate opportunity, prices of beef and farm produce will rule high from several years to come. Stocks have been depleted, particularly on the Continent, and America and the Colonies will require more and still more of their wheat and meat for their own expanding populations.

All these factors tend to increase the selling price of land. Rents are rising, for the land-owner naturally expects his share of the harvest of the "fat years." The selling price of land has steadily increased. Shortly before the outbreak of the war a well-known agricultural estate on Donside was sold by public auction at prices ranging from 14 to 16 years' rental. Were that land placed on the market to-day, it would command a price higher, in all probability, by 50 per cent. Even the value of sporting land—whether grouse moor or rabbit warrens—has increased, for the war-time millionaire, who has waxed rich by manufacturing implements of death, flaunts his wealth as wantonly as a harlot does her tawdry finery. Thus it is that land which is urgently required for public purposes to-day



## The Scottish Review

has acquired a fictitious and inflated value. That is the explanation of the unseemly rush of hard-up Scottish lairds to dispose of their family heritage while the land boom is at its height, and while those who have made fortunes out of the war are willing to spend their money with a lavish hand.

Our sons have fought and bled to preserve the liberties of small nations. It might reasonably be expected that those who return from the hell-fires of Flanders would be entitled to a modest patch of the land which they have defended so bravely. But the landlords do not on that account relax their iron grip on the hills and glens of Scotland. The God-given heritage of the Scottish people has been seized by "a robber band"; and before a single acre is handed over to the people on behalf of our gallant fighting men the rent-baron demands his heavy toll. "Just a fair market price," he remarks oilily—knowing well that the market price to-day is a bubble price, artificially inflated. That is the very real peril with which the people of Scotland are confronted. If land is bought at a bubble price, the housing scheme will be hampered by an exorbitant initial cost, and the land acquired for small-holdings for our soldiers will be burdened with an incubus of debt.

The rent-barons are strongly represented in the Coalition. The Prime Minister is held as hostage by the Tory dukes and landlords whom he once denounced so vehemently, and when land is required for small-holdings and garden villages they will insist on being allowed to dip their hands deeply into the pockets of the public. That contemplated plundering of the



## Now for the Next Election

people must be prevented—and it can be prevented if the Democracies of Scotland and England make a firm stand against the payment of inflated prices for land. It would be an outrage on public morality and national honour if our soldiers who have fought for the liberties of the world, and to defend the homeland, were compelled on their return to pay a heavy toll to the rent-barons and land speculators for the right to earn a living on the soil of Scotland.

Two basic principles must be insisted on in connection with the acquisition of land for the people:— Firstly, the present inflated price of land must be firmly set aside, and the purchase price based on the normal or pre-war value; Secondly, legislation must be placed on the statute book with all possible promptitude for the purpose of giving effect to the principle of the taxation of land values. If these things are done it will be possible to circumvent the rapacious land speculators, and secure a few modest patches of God's earth as homes for the people on conditions that will enable them to earn a livelihood free from the incubus of debt and the carking cares which it creates.

The acquisition of land for such purposes is but a preliminary to that bolder and more comprehensive scheme: the ownership and control of the land of Scotland by the people of Scotland. An attempt to promote a land settlement scheme under the dictatorship of London would inevitably lead to muddle and disaster. Only when Scotland enjoys again complete national autonomy will it be possible to establish on sound economic lines the newer and better land system to which Labour aspires. Bureaucracy is fatal

## The Scottish Review

to the growth of Democratic institutions. One welcomes, therefore, the rousing call for Scottish national autonomy which has just been sounded by the newly-formed Scottish Home Rule Association. The attempt to govern Scotland by Government Committees sitting in London is a grotesque perversion of Democracy, and the executive of the Association strongly protested against the adoption of this course. Congestion of work at Westminster—with the consequent muddle and inefficiency—is no new thing.

"It is an ancient evil and the direct outcome of the treacherous abolition of the Scots Parliament in 1707, whereby the nation's affairs were handed over to the tender mercies of an English Parliament, not only indifferent to, but grossly ignorant of, Scottish affairs. England has now 492 members against Scotland's 74, so that even if Scottish measures were dealt with by Grand Committees they would still have to face the large English majority in the House of Commons."

That is but one of the evil consequences of the present system of centralised government—a system which hampers and retards Democratic development in Scotland. In preparing for the next General Election, it is necessary therefore to unite the forces of Labour and Land Reform with the young and vigorous movement in favour of Scottish National independence. All these allied movements are part of the virile forces of Scottish Democracy.

The relations between Scottish Labour and the

## Now for the Next Election

Asquith group of Liberals naturally call for very careful consideration. Is there, in any real sense of the word, a future for Scottish Liberalism? Is the party which a generation ago commanded the loyal support of Scottish Democracy dead or moribund, and waiting only the toll of its funeral bell? Is the burial ceremony the next stage in the break-up of Liberalism? There is grave reason to fear that that is so.

I observe on the part of certain Scottish Radicals a disposition to make Mr. Asquith the scape-goat for their own political short-comings. "Asquith must go" exclaims the disgruntled Liberal, as he surveys the wreck of a party that was once a power in the State. "Asquith must go! Give us a new leader" re-echoes the rejected politician, regardless of the fact that he himself was in a measure responsible for the downfall of his party. With that superficial clap-trap I cannot pretend to have an atom of sympathy, although the blind resentment of the Liberal rank and file is quite intelligible. The melancholy truth is that what Liberalism lacks is not a leader, but a soul. It has ceased to be a living faith. Tactics and expediency have taken the place of principles and ideals until the very name of "Liberal" has begun to stink in the nostrils of Scottish Democrats.

The leaders of Liberalism have in certain respects been greater than their party. Mr. Asquith, with all his failings, has acquitted himself with dignity and restraint in singularly trying circumstances. That the Liberals, by "swopping horses in mid-stream," have lost both leaders and party is certainly their misfortune, and it is to be feared it is also their fault.

## The Scottish Review

That the quondam Liberals should desert Mr. Asquith in the hour of his defeat is creditable neither to their feelings of loyalty nor to their instincts of equity and justice.

It may be urged that Mr. Asquith's position in regard to Scottish Liberalism is a purely domestic affair—that it concerns the Liberals and the Liberal Party only. But that is a narrow and parochial view to take of a matter in which the Democracy of Scotland has at least some little interest. The point on which I wish to lay emphasis is that our Scottish Liberal friends who clamour for the dismissal of Mr. Asquith entirely misread the lessons of the election. The moral of the recent political landslide is not that Mr. Asquith, as the leader of the remnants of the Liberal Party, has failed, but that Liberalism itself, as we know it to-day, has been weighed in the balance and found wanting—that the conflict of to-day is not between the obsolete shibboleths of the Whigs and the antiquated doctrines of the Tories, but between a combine of the Capitalist Thugs of Unionism, the rent-barons of Toryism, and the discredited apostles of Militarism on the one hand, and the forces of Labour, Nationalism, and Democracy on the other. On the great living issues of to-day, Liberalism speaks with a feeble, faltering voice. It trims and truckles and indulges in the outworn platitudes of Mr. Facing-both-ways. It has lost the confidence of the middle-classes and failed to command the support of the working-classes of Scotland.

“Because thou art neither hot nor cold, but lukewarm, I will spue thee out of my mouth.” That was the verdict of the new electorate of Scotland on official



## Now for the Next Election

**Liberalism.** It is futile, therefore, for our Scottish Radical friends to talk of a better understanding between Liberalism and Labour. Let Liberalism re-discover its soul. Let the leaders of that party which once occupied an honoured place in Scotland define clearly and explicitly their attitude to the great problems with which the electors will be confronted at the next General Election.

Do the leaders of Scottish Liberalism endorse the demand for National Independence ?

Do they favour the immediate abolition of Conscription ?

Do they approve of the ownership of the land of Scotland by the people of Scotland ?

Are they in favour of the elimination of the Profiteer ? To that end, do they approve of the national or municipal ownership and control of the great monopolies ?

There are over a million unemployed in these islands to-day ; there are over 100,000 men and women in Scotland who are vainly begging a brother of the earth to give them leave to toil. To cope with that menace to our national well-being, do the leaders of Scottish Liberalism approve of the demand for a 40-hour week for Scotland and free access to the soil of our native land ?

These are the real issues which divide the political parties to-day. The era of Codlin and Short has gone. If the Scottish Liberals answer these questions with a

## The Scottish Review

shuffling negative—as too often they have done in the past—they will cut themselves adrift completely from all the best and most vigorous elements in our national life. If they adopt a policy of drift and truckle and compromise, they will merely earn—as they deserve to earn—the contempt and contumely of the people of Scotland. The political party whose leaders lack vision and inspiration will assuredly perish. If, however, the leaders of Scottish Liberalism, greatly daring, answer the questions I have outlined in the affirmative—then they will find that the verdict of the people will be “Too Late,” that the standard of Scottish Democracy has already passed from the feeble faltering hands of an effete and soulless Liberalism into the more virile grasp of the Labour and National parties.

That is the only possible answer to the question which our Radical friends are asking: “Is there a future for Scottish Liberalism?” Scotland has more to hope for to-day from a union between the Democratic parties in Scotland and Ireland than between the advance-guard of Labour and the time-serving apostles of Liberalism.

Our survey of the existing political situation, and of the issues which will form the “burning topics” during the next election campaign is necessarily incomplete, for the big world problems that are calling for solution touch every phase of our national life. We have seen, however, that the unemployment menace is forcing pre-war problems to the front once more, that our growing mastery of the methods of production has made a substantial reduction of the hours of labour both necessary and desirable, that the

## Now for the Next Election

care of the discharged and disabled soldiers has created a new series of pensions problems, and that the acquisition of land on equitable terms is imperative if the housing problem is to be dealt with on sound economic lines and the recolonisation of Scotland is to be begun in earnest. The shackles of Conscription must go. There must be a vigilant and ceaseless scrutiny of the doings of the combine of profiteers and plutocrats masquerading under the guise of a Coalition. Scotland's claim to national independence must be boldly and resolutely affirmed.

We have seen that thorough and effective organisation of the Democratic forces of Scotland is necessary, with co-operation, wherever possible, with the new working-class movements in Ireland. The combined forces of Labour, Nationalism, and Co-operation form the advance-guard of Scottish Democracy. "Organise, Organise, Organise" must be their motto, and their battle-cry, "Land, Liberty, and Independence."

WILLIAM DIACK.



## *The Celt in Ireland*



ALTHOUGH Ireland is the most ancient nation in Western Europe, a fact recognised long ago at the Council of Constance, its rightful national status has been more subject to deliberate misrepresentation than that of any other country. Its enemies, deaf to the demands of veracity, and even of common accuracy, go so far as to deny that it is, or ever was, a nation. Some of them assert, on the other hand, that there are two nations in Ireland, one which they call Anglo-Saxon, or English, or sometimes Ulster Scots, and the other which they call Celtic, when they do not stoop so low as to use terms of deliberate insult, such as "Hottentot." These wholesale dealers in terminological inexactitudes presume still further on the more or less unlimited credulity of their clients by assuring them that these two sections of the population are racially distinct, and that the former possesses nearly all the virtues, and that the latter has a monopoly of nearly all the vices.

In the course of previous articles on the Celtic and Teutonic elements in Scotland and England, I have more than once drawn attention to the fact that, strictly speaking, there is no such thing as a Celtic or an Anglo-Saxon "race," and that these adjectives, as commonly employed, are linguistic and cultural terms, and are not to be understood as having any ethnological connotation, such as properly belongs to the term



## The Celt in Ireland

"race." In these circumstances, the inaccuracy of speaking of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon races in Ireland, or in any other country, with the implication of deep-seated ethnic differences, is at once apparent. This is not to say that there are not distinct "races," or anthropological types, to be recognised in Ireland, as in all other European nations. Such races are traceable, but they have long since been fused into a national unity, in the same way as have the races in many other European countries.

In order to form a correct idea concerning these national and racial questions in Ireland, it will be necessary, as in the case of Scotland and England, to refer to the earliest written records and to the results of recent scientific research, and see what light they throw on a subject which is admittedly everywhere complex. In the case of Ireland, we are fortunate in having as our guide some of the early masterpieces of Gaelic literature, which often contain incidental references of great value in connection with this subject.

At the dawn of the Christian era, there were in Ireland various "population-groups," differing more or less as to their origin, some of them being Celtic and others pre-Celtic. In recent years, Prof. Eoin Mac Neill has thoroughly investigated this matter. The pre-Celtic communities were subject to Celtic overlordship. Their names frequently indicate their subject position, appellations such as "rivet-folk," "rent-paying communities," and the like, telling their own tale.

The well-known Firbolg of the mythological cycle were one of these pre-Celtic communities, although the term was used later on in a more extended sense, so

## The Scottish Review

as to cover the whole of the subject population. The Celts themselves were mainly of the Gaelic branch of that great linguistic and cultural family. There are, however, distinct traces of the presence of small Gaulish communities in early Ireland. Prof. Kuno Meyer, to whom Celtic studies owe so much, has pointed out the presence of Gaulish names in certain ancient documents. He regards these Gauls as having been exiles from their native land in all probability. The *Litany of Oengus* also mentions the "Gaill," as well as the "Bretnaig," and other peoples.

In Ireland, as in Scotland, there was a "Pictish problem." But, instead of forming a more or less compact, powerful, and well-organised kingdom, as did the Picts of north and east Scotland, the Irish Picts, at the period under consideration, the early part of the Christian era, were divided into a number of scattered groups, chiefly in what are now south Connacht and north-east Ulster. This last-mentioned area, apparently, contributed something to what Pictish population existed in ancient Galloway. The divided state of the Picts, and the cultural inferiority of the pre-Celtic peoples, rendered the ultimate undisputed supremacy of the Gael all the more easy. As in Scotland, so in Ireland, the language and culture of the Gael soon overcame all opposition, and the various peoples of Ireland became welded together into a compact Gaelic-speaking nation, united not only by the powerful bond of a common tongue and literature, but also by a common religious faith, and a common legal system, as well as by similar traditions and customs. The country that produced the great Gaelic literature of antiquity,

## The Celt in Ireland

that developed an advanced educational, and a complicated legal, system, and that Christianised and educated Western Europe, was assuredly not lacking in a national consciousness. The elective head of the whole Irish people was the *ard-ri*, an outward and visible symbol of the nation's oneness.

The enemies of Ireland are fond of pointing to the occurrence of frequent battles in early Irish history as a proof that there was no real national unity in Ireland. While most disputes were ended by legal divisions, yet a battle was a not uncommon, sometimes even a convenient, method of settling a dispute in former days, and it was in no way opposed to the recognition of a wider unity. Indeed, the arbitrament of battle, or rather of a series of sanguinary battles lasting for some years, is a method which has attained considerable popular support outside Ireland in these supposed enlightened days of the twentieth century. Those critics who live in political glass-houses should beware of throwing stones. There were no more wars or political antagonisms in early Ireland than in other European countries at that time, some of which were distinguished by the presence of considerably more internal strife than was Ireland, and had but few even of the incipient signs of that national unity which they afterwards attained. England, the home of nearly all these critics, was in every way far behind Ireland. In the time of the heptarchy and for long afterwards, England was the prey of fighting political factions, to an extent which should make English critics more chary of criticising their neighbours. Further, these English factions were far behind the Gaels as regards

## The Scottish Review

religion, law, literature, and general culture. Englishmen conveniently forget that such Christianity as some of them acquired was mainly due to the missionary work of the obliging Celt. Most of the few educated Englishmen there were in those days owed their training to the Celts. Hundreds of them came to Ireland to be educated, so that one of the divisions of Ard Macha was known as the Saxon Third. Another part of Ireland also became known as Mayo of the Saxons (*Mag n-Eo na Sachsan*). For these early and priceless benefits, few modern Englishmen display any gratitude whatever. On the contrary, the most of them seek to maintain their political grip on Ireland, they impound its money, hinder the development of its natural resources, and systematically endeavour to malign it in the eyes of the world.

Hostile critics sometimes confuse undisputed political supremacy with national unity. They confuse the State with the Nation. In everything that makes a Nation as distinct from a State, Ireland soon became a homogeneous whole. The bonds of union, such as those mentioned above, were far stronger than any tendencies to political disruption. Further, there can be no doubt, that, if it had not been for the political confusion and disturbance wrought, firstly, by the Norse invasions, and secondly, when those invasions had become a thing of the past, by the far worse Anglo-Norman invasion, a strong central political authority would ultimately have been evolved. Brian Borumha, usurper though he was, would probably have succeeded in securing the effective political supremacy of his house, if it had not been for his death, and the deaths



## The Celt in Ireland

of his son and others of his family, in the hour of victory.

In Ireland, the Norse and Danish invaders did not succeed in establishing their power to anything like the same extent as they did in England. In this respect, Ireland resembled Scotland. Considering the fury and the persistence of these Teutonic assaults on the two countries, their failure to secure bigger results is in itself a strong proof of the strength of the national sentiment in both. A country in which there was no strongly developed national consciousness would have speedily collapsed. England came under the Danish yoke largely owing to its divided condition and the lack of a strong feeling of national unity, a state of affairs to which the friction between the English Teutons and the surviving and then unabsorbed Celtic communities in that country no doubt powerfully contributed. The spirit of nationality was a living force in both Scottish and Irish Gaeldom, long before it made any effective appearance in England. Indeed, as regards the last-mentioned country, it would be perfectly true to say that genuine national feeling and the spirit of true patriotism have never been very evident. They have been choked and supplanted by the spirit of imperialism and militarism, which expresses itself, there as elsewhere, in attempts to crush patriotism and national feeling in other countries.

So far as the introduction and permanent settlement of a comparatively late non-Celtic element into Ireland is concerned, the Scandinavian invasions had but little effect. The ultimate result was that trading communities of Scandinavian extraction established themselves, and were allowed by the Irish to remain, at

## The Scottish Review

certain convenient stations on the river estuaries, and other places where there were good harbours, such as Luimneach, Loch gCarmain, Port Láirge, Ath Cliath, and so on, to which places they gave Teutonic names, some of which survive in the vocabulary of English speakers, Waterford and Wexford, for example. The older Gaelic names are, of course, still in use among the Gael. Certain personal names, such as Sigerson and Segrue, owe their origin to the same cause. In course of time, and after the Scandinavian empire had been dealt its deathblow at Cluain Tarbh, these scattered Teutonic communities suffered peaceful absorption into the Gaelic-speaking Irish nation. As compared with Scotland, these Norse and Danish settlers were far fewer in numbers. Scotland, being situated much nearer to Scandinavia, naturally came in for more attention from the Teutonic freebooters. To take but one example, the Scandinavian kingdom of Dublin was a small affair, both as regards duration and territorial extent, compared with the Norse Kingdom of the Isles.

A century and a half after the battle of Cluain Tarbh, the Anglo-Norman invasion took place. As regards the personnel of the earliest invaders, the term Cambro-Fleming might perhaps be more appropriate, for the invading Normans, who had previously established themselves in South Wales and on the Welsh border, brought along with them numbers of Welshmen and Flemings, especially the former. One of the professed objects of the invasion was the promotion of religion, but the invaders were the last people in the world competent to bring about that result. The Normans

## The Celt in Ireland

destroyed churches, and murdered and plundered everywhere. Their own imported ecclesiastics even went so far as to engage in this unholy work. For instance, the Cistercians of Gránárd butchered some Irishmen, and then proceeded to celebrate Mass as usual. Thus, the example set by the Norman invaders tended to the degradation of religion. On the other hand, the Irish, both before and after the invasion, took practical steps for the promotion of religion and the prevention of certain abuses with which the faith had been affected.

As years passed by, an Irish revival occurred, the result of which was to limit the area of effective Anglo-Norman power to Dublin, and an area of greater or lesser extent immediately around that city. For various reasons, the descendants of the adventurers outside this "English Pale," as it came to be called, found it to their interests to cast in their lot with the Gaelic people, whose national life went on largely undisturbed, except in so far as the foreign power entrenched at Dublin disorganised the community. As far as numbers went, the invaders were never at any time sufficient to make any very material difference in the constitution of the Irish people, so far as descent is concerned. The descendants of the Gaels and the originally non-Celtic inheritors of their culture remained in a large majority over the incomers. Apart from the virtual disappearance of the Gaelic central political authority, it was only the superior military organisation of the Anglo-Normans, and later on, their unlimited capacity for intrigue, which allowed them, first to obtain, and then to retain, their position in the

## The Scottish Review

country. So things remained until the sixteenth century.

If the central government in Ireland had been more powerful than it was, it is almost certain that the Norman invaders and their immediate successors would have been expelled soon after their arrival. But Ruaidhri Ó Conchobhair, the *ard-ri* of the day, was a "king with opposition," and was personally lacking in the qualities of a successful leader. The lack of a sufficiently strong central authority was one of the comparatively few defects of the Gaelic system of government both in Ireland and Scotland, but more particularly in the former country. In those early days when Gaeldom was exposed to the attacks of a highly-organised centralist military power, the necessity for a strong central government to meet these attacks was far more pressing than was the case in those peaceful times to which the Gaelic system was especially adapted. A remedy for these defects would no doubt have been evolved in course of time, without impairing to any undue extent that local independence which was one of the strong points of the Gaelic system, and which, when such central authority as once existed was overturned, became one of the most important factors in the fight against the foreigner, although in itself not powerful enough to expel him from the land.

At this point it may be profitable to institute a few further comparisons between Scotland and Ireland. In the former country, a relatively stable central authority had been evolved in the shape of the Mac Ailpin dynasty, but, unfortunately, the descendants of Malcolm III. became converts to feudalism, a political



## The Celt in Ireland

system which certainly strengthened the personal position of the monarch, but which was totally at variance with the Gaelic genius. The result was that the strong position of the central authority, made still stronger by feudalism, became a powerful means of the promotion of changes in the direction of anglicisation, changes which, if introduced from outside as the result of foreign invasion or attempted conquest, might never have taken the hold they did actually take under the patronage of a strong native line of kings. In Ireland, on the other hand, the very weakness of the central authority permitted the invader to obtain a permanent footing, a thing impossible in Scotland, so far as organised attempts at political conquest were concerned, owing to the strength of the central government. In Ireland, therefore, from the first, anglicisation was associated with the foreign conqueror, the ravagers of churches and the murderers of the people. Partly for that reason, it did not make the headway that it ultimately did in southern and eastern Scotland, where, too, the influence of the Teutonic colony in Lothian, and commercial intercourse with the continental Teutons all helped in the process of anglicisation.

But Scotland, even lowland Scotland, as I showed in my previous article in this *Review*, remained largely Gaelic-speaking for centuries after the introduction of feudalism, and in Ireland, as explained above, English influence was for long practically limited to the Pale. Naturally, under these circumstances, intercourse between the two Gaelic nations was close, prolonged, and continuous. This intercourse expressed itself in the

## The Scottish Review

common literature of the two countries from the earliest times. The phrase "Ireland and Scotland" (Eire ocus Alba) is common, not only in the stories of the Heroic Age, *i.e.* in the tales of the Conchobar-Cuchulainn cycle, but also in the Annals. This fact, conjoined with the frequent mention of the two countries in the modern Gaelic folk-tales, demonstrates not only the persistence of the Gaelic tradition, but also that the two nations were regarded as closely akin. A few examples will serve to illustrate this important point. One of the oldest surviving specimens of the great Gaelic compilations of antiquity is the *Leabhar Laighneach* (Book of Leinster). In the striking paragraphs describing the youthful deeds of Cuchulainn, the druid Cathba says that the men of Ireland and Scotland will hear his name and that their mouths will be full of it (*con cechlabat fir hErend ocus Alban inn ainm sin, ocus bat lana beóil fer n-hErend ocus Alban din anmun sin*). Again, the following saying is ascribed to Fergus mac Roig, concerning Conchobar mac Nessa, king of Emain Macha: "I give you my word that there is not in Ireland or in Scotland a warrior like unto Conchobar" (*dabiur bréthir na fuil in hErind no i n-Albain óclach macsamla Conchobair*). The *Acallamh na Senórach*, one of the most important stories of the Fionn cycle, describes Cas Corach as the best musician of the two countries. Again, the *Betha Colaim Chille* says that a child shall be born in the north country, and that the Irish and Scots and all the western world will believe in him (*geinfidh macam 'san aird tuaidh, ocus creidfidh Erennaig ocus Alpanaig ocus iarthar domain uili dó*).

Even if all the above incidents be regarded as

## The Celt in Ireland

without any historical foundation whatever, a somewhat large assumption, that would not affect the indisputable fact that these descriptions, like many others of a similar nature which could be given, faithfully portray the close intellectual bonds and associations between the two Gaelic nations. The references in the historical annals, however, are of even more value in this connection. For example, in 1062, the Annals of Ulster record the death of Gilla Crist h-Ua Maeldoraidh, who is described as the "co-arb" of Colum Cille in both Ireland and Scotland (*comarba Colaim-cille eter Erinn ocus Alban*). Three years later, the same annals mention the death of Dubthach Albanach, described as the chief soul-friend of Ireland and Scotland (*primh annmchara Ereenn ocus Alban*). Rather more than a century later, in 1169, the *ard-rí* promised, in honour of S. Patrick, an annual grant of the value of ten cows from himself and his successors, in perpetuity, to the *fer-leighinn* of Ard Macha, to establish a course of studies for the students of Ireland and Scotland (*dorat Ruaidhri hUa Concobair, rí Ereenn, deich m-bú cecha bliadhna uadh féin ocus o cach rígh i n-a dhegaidh co brath do ferleiginn Aird Macha, i n-onoir Patraic, ar leighinn do dhenamh do macaibhleighinn Ereenn ocus Alban*). The university so endowed, one of the fine flowers of Gaelic culture, was destroyed by the English Huns early in the following century. In 1181 and 1185 respectively, the Annals of Loch Cé record the deaths of Tadhg and Maelisa Ó Dálaigh, both of whom are described as doctors of Ireland and Scotland (*ollam Ereenn ocus Alban*). In 1299, the Annals of Ulster record the death of Alaxandair mac Domnaill, the best person for hospi-

## The Scottish Review

tality and excellence in the two countries (*in duine rob ferr einech ocus maithius dobi i n-Erinn ocus i n-Albain*).

Many similar entries in the annals are to be found in the next three centuries. A fourteenth century poet, Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh also wrote of "the bardic companies of pleasant-meadowed Ireland and Scotland (*dámha Fódla fóinnréidhe, 's dámha Alban. Eriu* v. 56). In recording the death in 1328 of Maelruanaigh mac Cerbaill, the Annals of Ulster describe him as the finest tympanist of Ireland and Scotland (*aen roga timpanach Ereenn ocus Alban*). In 1395, the same annals, referring to Pilib Mag Uidhir, king of Fer Manach, tell us that all Gaeldom was full of his fame (*fa lan Eire ocus Alba d'chlu ocus d' a airium*). In 1433, mention is again made of the bardic companies of the two countries, also of their pilgrims and bardic retainers; this is in connection with the death of Cathal Mór mac Maghnusa, who kept a general guest-house for these bodies, so that his fame filled all Ireland and Scotland (*fer tighi aidhedh coitcinn do dhámaibh ocus do dheoradhaibh ocus do chliaraibh Ereenn ocus Alban, gur lin clu an Chathail sin Eire ocus Alba*). Ten years later, we again hear of the bardic companies, in connection with the hospitality, generosity, and general protection given to them by Magnus Mag Mathgamna (*ar einech ocus ar eaghnum ocus ar feicemhnus coitcenn do dámaibh Ereenn ocus Alban*). In 1448, the same record, the Annals of Ulster, mentions the death of Tadhg og hUa hUiginn, who was the preceptor of the schools of Ireland and Scotland in poetry and learning (*oide sgol Ereenn ocus Alban*).



## The Celt in Ireland .

*a n-dan ocus a foghlaim*). The great seventeenth century historians, the Four Masters, make a very similar reference to this scholar (*priomh-oide aosa dána Ereann ocus Alban*).

Three years later, the Ulster Annals contain an entry concerning Mairgreg, the daughter of Tadhg Ua Carbaill, king of Eile, and wife of another Irish prince, Ua Concobair Fhailghi. This lady gave two general invitations to all "in quest of chattels" in the two countries (*tuc si da gairm coitcenna d'a roib re h-iaraidh spreidhe a n-Erinn ocus a n-Albain*). In an English translation of a Gaelic record which has unfortunately been lost or destroyed, Dubhaltach Mac Fírbhisigh gives some additional information concerning this princess and her two invitations: "it was shee that twice in on yeare proclaimed to and commonly invited . . . all persons, both Irish and Scottish, or rather Albians, to two generall feasts of bestowing both meate and moneyes, with all other manner of guifts . . . While the world stands, her very many gifts to the Irish and Scottish nations shall never be numbered." Her father is also described as "deservedly a man of greate accompt and fame with all the professors of poetrye and musicke of Ireland and Scotland for his liberality extended towards them, and every one of them in generalle."

In 1476, the Annals of Ulster and Loch Cé record the death of another member of the learned family of Ua hUiginn, Brian mac Ferghail ruaid, who is described in the first-mentioned annals as an eminent poet and preceptor of the Irish and Scottish schools of poetry and other things (*sai fhir dana ocus oide sgoil*

## The Scottish Review

*Ereann ocus Alban re dan ocus araile*). The Annals of Loch Cé describe him as head of the schools (*cend scoile*) of the two countries. Four years later, in recording the deaths of two members of the Mag Uidhir family, Tomas og and Cathal og, the Ulster Annals say that their fame filled Ireland and Scotland (*fa lan Eire ocus Alba do clu in Tomais sin*, etc.). In 1482, Conn mac Aedha buidhe hUi Neill is described as general protector to the bardic troops of the two countries (*feichemh coitcenn do chliaraibh Ereann ocus Alban*).

The sixteenth century references in the Annals are of a similar nature. The year 1502 witnessed the death of Domnall Ua Uigind, son of Brian, already mentioned. A similar description is given in the Annals. In 1507 the Four Masters refer to Domhnall Ó Fiaich, the chief professor of history in Gaeldom (*sáith Ereann ocus Alban, doide lé sinchus*). The Annals of Ulster tell us that six years later, the Scottish king, James IV. gave an invitation to Aodh mac Aodha ruaidh Ó Domnaill and a small retinue, to come to Scotland, where he (Aodh) received honour and great gifts from that Gaelic-speaking monarch. (*O Domnaill, idon, Aodh, mac Aodha ruaidh, do dul, becan fedhna, a n-Alpain, lé hiarraidh rígh Alban maille re litreachaibh air, d'á fuair onóir ocus tidlaici mora o'n rígh*). In 1536, the Annals of Loch Cé record the death of Tom-máss Ua hUiginn in terms very similar to those employed in the case of other members of that learned family. Seventeen years later, the same annals describe Tadhg mac Ruaidrí I Chomhdhain as a doctor of music of Ireland and Scotland (*ollam Ereann ocus Alban re sinm*),

## The Celt in Ireland

and, in the following year, the Four Masters refer to Tadhcc mac Aodha Uí Chobhthaigh as the chief preceptor of the two countries (*príomh oide Ereann ocus Alban*).

These references in the Annals are, in themselves, quite sufficient to show that Scotland and Ireland formed what I think Mrs. A. S. Green has somewhere called a spiritual commonwealth. The common origin of the two peoples, both coming from a Gaelo-Brythonic stock superimposed on the older pre-Celtic peoples, the community of language and literature, the similarity of their social institutions, customs, and beliefs, and the constant communication between the two countries, and even perhaps the existence of the common enemy, England, all these things helped to bring Gaelic Ireland and Gaelic Scotland closely together. It would have been strange, indeed, if it had been otherwise. It is also noteworthy that the annalists refer to Scotland as a whole. They know nothing of the fictitious divisions into Highlanders and Lowlanders, and they nowhere even make the slightest mention of the silly theory of the Saxon origin of the people of southern and eastern Scotland. As historians, and as Gaels, but primarily concerned with Irish Gaeldom, there were no writers furth of Scotland so competent as were the annalists to form an impartial judgment on this matter.

Our annalistic extracts indicate the unity of thought in the realm of culture. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that intercommunication in the Gaelic commonwealth was limited to this particular sphere. Merchants were busy travelling to and fro between the

## The Scottish Review

two countries. In 1292, the State papers make mention of Alexander of Argyll, who frequently sent "his men and merchants" to Ireland with "his goods and merchandise" (*Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, iii. 495). Other merchants trading between Scotland and Ireland also figure in the public records. Again, there existed a political co-operation between the two branches of the commonwealth, a co-operation which was made evident on more than one historic occasion. While both Scotland and Ireland (or, as in later centuries, only the greater part of the latter country, the part outside the Pale), enjoyed political independence, there was at the same time a recognition of their mutual interests, which often led to the despatch of armed assistance from one country to the other in the hour of its need.

The virtual independence of the two nations had been assured by the action of Colum Cille at the Convention of Druim Ceata, as far back as the year 575. The same great statesman had also pointed out the advisability of co-operation between the two countries. According to the *Amra* of Dallan Forgaill, he said there should be a perpetual covenant between them (*albert Colum Cille rop cairrde co brath*). These political theories of the statesman-saint were faithfully observed for centuries after his death, and every year a public procession and service of thanksgiving, to celebrate the consummation of the political arrangements between the two countries, was held at Druim Ceata down to, at least, the middle of the seventeenth century, as we are told by Father John Colgan, one of the many Irish historians of that troubled time. Indeed,



## The Celt in Ireland

it would be quite true to say that this great principle of Scoto-Irish co-operation is still a living force to-day, so far as the Nationalists of the two nations are concerned.

The political co-operation between the two countries was based upon the Celtic political principle of freedom, a principle quite unknown to the English mind, with its mechanical theories of incorporating "unions." The separate political independence of each partner was not interfered with in the least, while at the same time there were many opportunities for the giving of mutual help and assistance. An early example of this political co-operation occurred at Cluain Tarbh, in the great battle on the memorable Good Friday of 1014. A small body of Scottish Gaels came to that place to fight beside their Irish kinsmen against the Norse. They were under the leadership of Dómnall, *mórmaer* of Marr, the first of that ancient Gaelic family of whom we have any record, and who was one of the many who fell in the battle, fighting for Ireland and for freedom. Three centuries later, Scotland was in death-grips with the common enemy, and it then became the turn of the Irish Gaels, especially those of Ulster, to come to its assistance in the hour of need. In February, 1307, seven hundred Irishmen landed at Loch Ryan in Galloway, with Thomas and Alexander Bruce, the brothers of Robert, and one of the Irish princes. Unfortunately the Galloway men were at feud with Bruce for personal reasons, and they therefore attacked and defeated the Irish Gaels, much to the delight of the English Chronicler of Lanercost, who records these events. I may here note that about this time Irish families, such as the

## The Scottish Review

Monroes and Currys, settled in Scotland, and obtained grants of land. This immigration continued throughout the next three centuries.

A few years later, the independence of Scotland was secured, and it became the turn of the Northern Gaels to help the Irish, which they did at the request of the Irish princes themselves, who also, for some decades previously, had invited the "gall-óglaigh" of the Hebrides to help them. Robert Bruce himself was asked to accept the crown of Ireland, Dómhnull Ó Néill, the king *de jure*, consenting to lay his claims on one side for patriotic reasons. According to a Gaelic account, Ó Néill sent an embassy to Bruce, who is described as king of the Gaelic Scots (*rígh n-Albanach n-Gaedh-alach*), offering him the crown, because the Irish remembered that he came of the same ancestral stock as themselves, and that, if they had to pay tribute to any king not born or brought up within their own borders, it was to him they should do it, by right of descent and kinship (*de bhrígh gur meobhair linn tusa do bheith de réimh-dhúthchais ar g-cine féin . . . . más dual do Ghaedhalaibh cíós do bheirt do aen rígh nach ar rugadh no nach ar h-oileadh and coriocaibh féin, is ortse, a rígh, is dual é le ceart sinsire is cine*). Robert Bruce was unable to agree to these proposals, whereupon, with his consent, the crown was offered to his brother Edward, who, only eleven months after Bannockburn, landed in Ireland with 6000 Scots. The subsequent fortunes of the combined Scoto-Irish army are too well-known to need recapitulation here.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This Gaelic account of the Scoto-Irish campaign, although written in 1845, is undoubtedly, from internal evidence, a copy of

## The Celt in Ireland

Although the Irish revival had begun before the invasion of Edward Bruce, although that invasion, in fact, was merely one of the products and results of the revival, yet there is no doubt that Bruce's brief but dramatic campaign did more to weaken English power in Ireland than any other previous attempt, and though it ended in apparent failure, yet at the same time it was a very material factor in readjusting the political balance in favour of the Irish Gael throughout the next two centuries and a half.

The English themselves admitted that their cause was declining. Their infamous Statute of Kilkenny (1367), by which they endeavoured to root out and abolish the Gaelic language and thereby kill the spirit of nationality, laments the fact that the English language and customs were in a decaying condition, even in the Pale. Many other attempts to kill the Irish language were made in later years. One such attempt was made in Port Láirge in the closing years of the fifteenth century, when it was forbidden to plead in Gaelic; this incident is of interest as showing that the Gaelic language was reconquering an old Danish

---

a much older account, and may quite possibly embody more or less contemporary records of these events. It was published by Enrí Ua Muirgheasa in the *County Louth Archaeological Journal* (Vol. I. No. 2, pp. 77-91). It is therefore of interest to note that it gives an account of the fatal battle of Fochart, differing in important details from that usually accepted. The Gaelic army is said to have routed the English, and was resting after the victory, when Edward Bruce was assassinated by a person unnamed, but who is presumably to be identified with the Anglo-Norman, John de Maupas, mentioned in other accounts as the slayer of Bruce. When they saw Bruce fall, the remnants of the English returned, and routed the Scoto-Irish forces.

## The Scottish Review

stronghold. Various other attempts to abolish the language have been made since then. In fact, the enemies of Ireland are endeavouring to do so to-day. They will not succeed.

In the sixteenth century, there was again much political intercourse between the Gaels of the two countries. The fact that the Clan Donald occupied land on both sides of Sruth na Maoile was largely accountable for this. As usual, the English endeavoured to sow discord between the Irish and Scots, as well as between the various sections of the population in both countries. These efforts sometimes met with undeserved success, as in the case of the overthrow of Seán Ó Néill, whose murder was hailed as a "godly conquest" by the pious English. A lady of the princely family of the MacDonalds of the Isles, the famous Inghean Dubh, proved herself a valiant defender of the Irish national cause, so much so that the English proposed to banish the "Scottishwoman," as they called her, and also her "progeny." She was the mother of an even more famous son, Aodh Ruadh Ó Dómhnaill, in whose army were many Scottish Gaels. Descendants of these MacDonalds, and of later immigrants, Gaelic-speaking and Catholic, like so many of their kinsmen in the Western Isles of Scotland and the opposite mainland, occupy the Glens of Antrim at the present day. Their dialect of Gaelic is now essentially Irish, with only a very few traces of Scottish Gaelic. As Prof. Mac Neill observes, the Scottish immigrants probably married Irish wives and so became *Hibernis Hiberniores*, the children, as usual, speaking the dialect of the mother (*Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge* vi. 106). Even



## The Celt in Ireland

the English recognised a community in the political ideals of the two branches of the Gaelic commonwealth, a writer in the state papers of 1549 lamenting the fact that "the Scots and wild Irishmen contend only for liberty" (*Calendar of State Papers*, i. 103).

One factor that contributed to the decline of the pernicious English power in Ireland was the Gaelicisation of many of the descendants of the Anglo-Norman invaders. Many of them, far away from the Pale, with its debilitating influences, succumbed to the attractions of the higher civilisation. It was indeed to their interest to do so in many cases. Hence arose the English complaint that many of the Anglo-Norman settlers had become more Irish than the Irish themselves, a complaint which, though obviously exaggerated, had in it more than an element of truth. A report of 1515 refers to "thEnglyshe folke" who are "of Iryshe habyt, of Iryshe langage and of Iryshe condytions" (Lemon's *State Papers* of Henry VIII. ii. 8). Twenty-two years later, it is complained that "all the English march borderers use Irish apparel and the Irish tongue, as well in peace as in war, and for the most part use the same in the English Pale, unless they come to Parliament or Council." (*Calendar of State Papers*, i. 32). Evidently, the ancient Irish civilisation was still strong enough to absorb the alien.

It is now necessary to consider the English political policy towards Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With the cessation of the Wars of the Roses, and with the accession to the English throne of the strong and stable Tudor dynasty, which refused to concern itself overmuch with the pressing of the pre-

## The Scottish Review

tended English claims to the French crown, the opportunity was given to the English imperialist to make a serious attempt to conquer Ireland. To begin with, the English tried the effect of soft words, and endeavoured at the same time to make a breach between the Irish princes and the Irish people. The princes were promised earldoms on the English model, if only they would forsake and throw overboard the Gaelic civilisation. This was the policy of Henry VIII. But these insidious schemes did not meet with the success that their promoters anticipated, and so the English fell back upon those plans of wholesale spoliation and expropriation, which they sought to disguise under the comparatively innocent name of "plantations." If the Irish people would not act the part of traitors to their country and its historic civilisation, they were to be turned out of their homes, which were to be handed over to foreign adventurers. Of these plantations, and of the wars that led up to them, Mr. Lecky has remarked : "The suppression of the native race . . . . was carried on with a ferocity which surpassed that of Alva in the Netherlands, and has seldom been exceeded in the page of history."

The plantations have to be considered here mainly from the point of view of the introduction of non-Celtic elements. Laoighis and Uí Fáilghe were planted by Mary Tudor, just as Munster was afterwards by Elizabeth, but in neither case was the plantation a success. In the latter case, a sufficient number of English settlers was not forthcoming. Of the relative few who did come forward, some wisely retired after a short time, and the remainder became assimilated into the

## The Celt in Ireland

Irish nation. Ten years after the commencement of the plantation, Edmund Spenser, the poet, who had an active hand in this nefarious business, wrote that the planters, instead of keeping out the Irish, "doe not only make the Irish their tenants in those lands and thrust out the English, but also some of them become mere Irish." As in the case of earlier settlers, the children grew up Irish-speaking and with Irish customs.

Concurrently with these attempts at plantation, there was a movement on "educational" lines. The idea was to kidnap the children of the Irish princes, and educate them in England on English lines, care being had at the same time to charge the parents of the stolen children with the cost of their so-called education. As far as possible, the children were brought up in ignorance of the Irish language, of Irish history, and of the religious faith of their fathers, and were sometimes so treated as to make them infirm in body and mind. This dreadful scheme was styled by an English deputy "making them good members of Christ and this commonwealth." The English never failed of capacity to associate religious reflections with the most immoral proceedings.

The most important plantation, however, was the famous, or rather notorious, plantation of Ulster, the unfortunate effects of which are, for various reasons, very much apparent at the present day. Warned by previous failures, the English government laid down the conditions that the "undertakers" should hold not more than 2000 acres each, that they were not to employ any Irish, still less, to intermarry with them or adopt their customs. Six counties were deemed to

## The Scottish Review

be "forfeited," viz., Donegal, Cavan, Fermanagh, Armagh, Tyrone, and Derry. The best land was made the subject of the English government's experiments. It was intended that two-thirds should be planted by equal numbers of Scots and Englishmen, and the remaining one-third by "servitors" and Irish. The "servitors" were men who were already in the service of the English crown in Ireland, and the new Irish tenants had to be "approved" by the government. In practice, however, some of these conditions were no more observed than in previous plantations. The comments of Thomas Carte, who wrote in 1736, are worthy of note. Of the plantation, he says there were "but fifty English undertakers concerned in carrying on that work; and it was not so easy for these to bring from England . . . any considerable number of husbandmen and artificers to a strange country, wasted and inhabited by a wild, savage, turbulent, and rapacious people (!), whose language they knew not, as it was for the Scots undertakers to bring numbers from Scotland, *where near half the nation spoke the Irish tongue*" (*Life of Ormond*, p. 178). The Scottish planters came not only from the Western Highlands, but also from such parts of the lowlands as Galloway and Ayrshire, where the Gaelic language was still alive at that time, as I explained in my previous article. In all probability, a majority of the Scottish planters were Gaelic speakers, and such being the case, it is not surprising to find that they intermarried with the Irish almost from the start. The plantations in Cavan and Donegal were comparatively small or unsuccessful. The hill country in Ulster was left to the Irish, and even



## The Celt in Ireland

in the case of the more fertile lowlands, it was found impossible to rigidly enforce the rule against the employment of Irishmen, owing to the difficulty of getting farm labourers. Further, the Irish, naturally anxious to remain in their ancestral holdings, were ready to promise higher rents than were many of the planters, and also to do without leases. It was, therefore, to the financial interest of the undertakers to disregard the regulations to some extent, a fact which attracted the notice of Chichester, the English deputy. Again, of these six planted counties, the only one where English settlers really took root in large numbers was Fermanagh. Elsewhere, the English were decidedly in a minority as compared with the Scots, as is evident from Carte's account, although they occupied a strip of land extending from Fermanagh, through Tyrone and North Armagh, to the Lagan. But even these Englishmen were far from being non-Celtic by descent, for a large proportion came from such Celtic counties as Devon, Cheshire, and Lancashire. Many of the original English planters had to return home, as the climate did not agree with them.

After some years, in 1626, the rule against the employment of Irish tenants was officially relaxed over one-quarter of the planted territory. Stringent conditions, however, were still laid down, one of them being to the effect that these Irish tenants should abandon the Catholic faith.

For the year 1641, Carte estimated that there were 100,000 Scots in Ulster, and only 20,000 English. The same year was signalised by the preparations for the great "rebellion" against English rule, a rebellion

## The Scottish Review

which certain unscrupulous scribes, even in our own day, have sought to associate with baseless stories of indiscriminate massacre. So far as the evidence goes, there is no reason to believe that, apart from open warfare, any large numbers of the planters were deliberately slain, except some of the English, who resisted being deprived of their ill-gotten gains. The stories of wholesale massacre were invented at a later date, in order to provide a colourable excuse for wider schemes of expropriation.

The literature of the rebellion throws additional light upon the relations between the Irish and the Scots. The following quotations will make it clear that the old ideas of kinship and alliance had by no means died out. In November, 1641, Toirdhealbhach Ó Néill wrote to Sir Robert Knight as follows: "I protest that no Scottsman should be touched by any of the Gentry, and what hurt others should doe them should be repaired to the uttermost of our powers . . . It wer better that bothe the nations being formerlie one should still so continow, and lyk bretheren then to be att variance together." (Gilbert's *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland*, i. 371). In another letter from "Phillipe Reyllie" to "Cormicke Farall," the following passage occurs: "I am sure you know, coussin, that it is gevin out that you ar not to meddle with anie of the Scotishe nation, except they give cause" (*ibid*, i. 373). Some time later, the Rev. George Creighton, Protestant Vicar of Lurgan, deposed that "because he was a Scottishman, he was not pillaged," and again, "this deponent sawe many reasons which perswaded him to beleieve they would willingly haue made the Scotts

## The Celt in Ireland

their friends. . . . The Irish would tell this deponent that the Scotts were their kindred, and had not oppressed them in the government, and that if the Scotts would be honest and take their parts, they would share the kingdom amongst them " (*ibid.* i. 528-9). Another contemporary writer says that "for a whole month's time or thereabouts, they (the Irish) meddled not with the Scotts, though they had driven out all the English that were in the fields or in unwall'd villages, that had no retyring place" (Miss Shuckburgh's *Two Biographies of William Bedell*, p. 172). A pamphlet by an English Puritan Colonel, Audley Mervyn, also gives some interesting details: "In the infancy of this rebellion, the rebels made open proclamation on paine of death that no Scotchman (*sic*) should be stirred in body, goods, or lands, and that they should to this purpose write over the lintels of their doores that they were Scotchmen, and so destruction might passe over their families. Nay, I read a letter that was sent by . . . Colonell Nugent and Colonell Gallogher . . . which was directed to our Honourable Friends the Gentlemen of the never-conquered Scotch Nation, it exprest that they were both of one extraction in former times, joynt assistants, that their quarrell, if aright understood by them, as by the best of Scotland, they would be otherwise advised than to joyne with us, and many other passages that I may reasonably forget here; I onely touch this, not as judging where there is smoake, there is some fire, but to observe their policy, which . . . was ridiculously entertained and as resolutely scorned by the Scottish Nation."

It is quite clear from the above extracts that the

## The Scottish Review

Irish Gaels did not molest the Scots for some weeks, largely out of regard for feelings of kinship and the ancient, if informal, alliance. The spirit that prompted the settlement of Druim Ceata was not yet dead. This is all the more noteworthy in view of the fact that the Irish had been grossly wronged by the Scottish planters, who had robbed them of much of their ancestral lands in Ulster. Not until these degenerate Scots made common cause with the English enemy, did the Irish turn their arms against them, and inflict on them a well-deserved defeat at Beann Borb. But if these national backsliders behaved in this disgraceful fashion, it is important to remember that there were other Scots in Scotland itself, who hastened to ally themselves with their Irish kinsmen, with whom they fought side by side under the leadership of the Great Marquis and his brilliant lieutenant, Alasdair Mac Colla. In the army that followed Montrose, one of the most notable contingents was that formed by the MacDonalds of the Glens of Antrim, who still maintained a close connection with their kindred of the Isles.

We now come to the consideration of the doings of the Puritan barbarian, Cromwell, whose original policy, so far as the subject-matter of this article is concerned, was concisely summed up in his elegant phrase, "Hell or Connacht." Still dealing with the northern province, we find that big experiments in confiscation were now planned, for the first time, in the counties of Down and Antrim. But the English Government did not interfere to the same extent as it did in the plantations in other parts of Ulster. Plantation in these two counties was the work of private



## The Celt in Ireland

individuals, such as Hamilton and Montgomery, in the early part of the century. But the Glens of Antrim, except their northern and southern extremities, were fortunate enough to escape the evils of plantation, as did also South Down. North Down was planted by men from Celtic Ayr and Renfrew. As regards the other two provinces of Leinster and Munster, the drastic intentions of the Cromwellian government became considerably modified in actual practice. The final result was that those who were transported to Connacht were practically limited to such landowners, and tenants holding leases for seven or more years, as had borne arms in the "rebellion." Many of these landowners were of English descent originally. Other classes were usually left undisturbed, although generally refused permission to live in the walled towns. Some statistics concerning the population of Ireland made about the year 1659 make this quite clear (*Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, xxiv. 325-6). The Irish population of these two provinces was returned as 271,000 in round figures, while the English population was less than 38,000, of which nearly 10,000 were in the city and county of Dublin. In Ulster, the Irish population was given as amounting to 63,000, and the Scots and English to under 41,000, most of whom must have been Scots, in view of what has been said above. In Connacht, there were nearly 80,000 Irish to under 8000 English. Even if these figures be not regarded as altogether accurate, it is yet evident that the popular theories of wholesale transportation to Connacht are gross exaggerations. Of the relatively small number transported, some managed to return in less unhappy times. I

## The Scottish Review

may here note that one effect of the repeated plantations has been the creation of an idle landlord class, for the most part hopelessly divorced from the real interests of the nation.

Throughout the seventeenth century, the Scottish population of Ulster was subject to great fluctuations. Religious persecution by the English government sent many of the planters to America. The victories of Montrose are said to have been the cause of others of their countrymen migrating from Scotland to Ireland. There was another ebb and flow in the period between the Restoration and the Revolution. In the last decade of the century, an offer of wasted farms attracted large numbers of immigrants, including a high proportion of Gaelic-speaking men who settled in the north of Antrim. In the eighteenth century, owing to trade legislation and religious discrimination on the part of the English government, many thousands of the Scottish immigrants in Ireland once more emigrated to America, where they, or their descendants, like their Irish kinsmen, fought against England in the great American War of Independence. In fact, the Scoto-Irish contribution in the struggle was a decisive factor in the ultimate decision, a matter which Americans would do well to bear in mind.

From time to time, various estimates were made of the number of Scottish immigrants into Ulster, but the constant ebb and flow of the planter population makes these estimates of no more than historical interest. The estimates themselves are not very reliable. But it is evident that this Scottish immigration was not non-Celtic. Quite apart from the evidence

## The Celt in Ireland

I adduced in the last two numbers of this *Review* as to the Celtic origin of the people in south-western Scotland, from which district the Ulster immigrants mostly came, we have also the distinct testimony of the Irish themselves as to the kinship of the immigrants with the older inhabitants. The personal names of the Ulster population of the present day also indicate their predominantly Celtic origin.

As regards Irish personal names in general, it is important to remember that in many cases English surnames were forced upon the people by the alien government. If allowance be made for this fact, the preponderance of Celtic names is significant, quite as significant as the fact that throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, Gaelic was spoken by the vast majority of the Irish people.

Even in the early eighteenth century, Gaelic speech was exceedingly common among the Scottish planter population, being the vernacular tongue over large areas. Since that time, there has been a sad declension, as in the case of south-west Scotland itself, although the political ideas of the Celt were still strong enough among the immigrant population in 1798 to make many of them play a worthy part in the struggle for Ireland's freedom in that year. But with the general decay of the language in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, political decay set in, with the unfortunate result seen to-day, when hundreds of thousands of Ulster men and women of Celtic descent ally themselves with those who have always shown themselves to be the unrelenting enemies of both Scotland and Ireland. Ignorance, springing from lack

## The Scottish Review

of education, is, no doubt, the fundamental cause of this unnatural alliance between the "Ulster Scots" and English imperialism, and not conscious and deliberate disloyalty to kindred and tradition in itself. In the schools to which the children of the planter-population are sent, nearly everything relating to the important facts of Gaelic history is deliberately boycotted, to almost as great an extent as the language itself. A semi-political religion, leading to detestable manifestations of sectarianism and bigotry, developments carefully fomented by the pro-English capitalist class, has been another factor in the process of denationalisation. None the less, the fact remains that the "Unionist" of north-east Ulster, far from being an "Anglo-Saxon," is, for the most part, a descendant of those Celts who, for centuries past, have wandered to and fro between Eire and Alba across Sruth na Maoile. That element in Ulster which is English by descent, as opposed to that which is English in politics, is very small in comparison with the old Scoto-Irish Celtic stock. Further, the "old Irish" element in Ulster is still the strongest numerically, the planter population being in the minority.

It is not possible to bring forward anthropological evidence in support of these conclusions, as in the case of the other countries considered in this series of articles, for the reason that a detailed anthropological investigation of Ulster as a whole has not yet been carried out. So far, detailed research has dealt only with small and particular localities, mostly in the north-west. There has been nothing on the scale of Gray and Tocher's work for Scotland. But any one acquainted



## The Celt in Ireland

with the northern province is aware that the fair-haired type, chiefly Teutonic in origin, is decidedly in the minority. For the other three provinces, the statistics of Dr. Beddoe, given in his *Races of Britain*, demonstrate the scarcity of the fair-haired type in comparison with the darker-haired peoples who now mostly represent the Celtic civilisation, although their own racial type is mainly pre-Celtic. The most prominent area for fair hair stretches from Wexford and Waterford, the sites of early Scandinavian settlements, as already mentioned, across southern Tipperary, the seat of a Cromwellian plantation, to Limerick, the site of another Scandinavian settlement. The inhabitants of the baronies of Forth and Bargy in the county of Wexford are largely the descendants of Anglo-Flemish immigrants from Pembrokeshire. But even in the Wexford-Limerick strip, the highness of the "index of nigrescence," as compared with typically Teutonic districts such as eastern England, northern Germany, or Scandinavia, shows how small the Teutonic admixture must be. According to the figures given by Dr. Beddoe, as the results of his own personal observations, the index in this area is lowest at Charleville, where it is 14. It rises to 18 in southern Tipperary, to 22·4 around Wexford and Waterford, and to 28 in Kilkenny, Forth, and Bargy. These figures are relatively high as compared with the figures for the rural districts of Teutonic England, such as around Nottingham (5·5), Ipswich (10·6), or Gainsborough (12·1), or the similar districts of northern Germany, such as Aachen (6·4), or Dresden (13·0). Outside this particular area, the only sections of the population with a low

## The Scottish Review

index of nigrescence are the so-called "upper classes" of Dublin, who are, generally speaking, the apostles of West Britonism and disloyalty to Ireland, and whose index of 14 indicates their physical, if not their spiritual, affinities with the English Teuton. In the west of Ireland, the index is very high, rising to 70.1 in Iar Chonnacht. In fact, at Clochán, it is 89.5. The English figures given above must not be confused with those I gave in a former article, figures deduced by Dr. Beddoe from the military statistics.

In order to show the persistency of hair-colour, and its general reliability in researches into the racial origins of peoples, I may perhaps refer to other figures published by Dr. Beddoe (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii. 164-170). He compared the nigrescence of people bearing surnames of Celtic origin, and that of those whose surnames were of exotic origin, Norse and so on. In the former case, the index was 16.3, in the latter 5.8. Of course, there has been a large amount of crossing between the "old Irish" and the invaders, but that in itself tends to produce a condition of instability in bodily characters, a condition in which Dr. Beddoe thinks the decolourising tendencies of the Irish climate have had an opportunity for producing effects impossible in the case of the old-established and therefore stable "indigenes." Thus, the more or less cross-bred descendants of the invaders have preserved their ancestral characteristics as regards hair-colour.

In connection with this matter of climatic influence, I may here note that Prof. Ridgeway is of opinion that it is responsible for one point in which the dark "Mediterranean" people, so common in the west of Ireland,

## The Celt in Ireland

often differ from the typical Mediterranean peoples in the countries bordering the sea of that name (*Journal Royal Anthropological Institute*, xl. 14). This point is the conjunction of dark hair with light-coloured eyes, a combination also common in western Scotland, as noted in my last paper. The true Mediterranean racial type has dark eyes as well as dark hair, just as the Nordic race combines light eyes with light hair. In order to show the extent to which this anomalous colour-combination prevails in certain parts of Ireland, I may note that Messrs. Haddon and Browne found that, while only 5 per cent. of the people of the Aran Isles had fair hair, some 90 per cent. had light eyes (*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 1893, p. 784).

It would, however, be a mistake to regard the fair-haired type as exclusively of late origin in Ireland, although it is undoubtedly largely so. In that great Gaelic epic, the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, we have a minute description of the physical appearances of the warriors from Ulster, as they appeared to Mac Roth, the watcher in Slemain. Similar, but shorter, descriptions occur in other tales. The appearance of the fair-haired Celtic aristocratic caste is noted, alongside other darker-haired groups of warriors. This fair-haired type of Celtic origin, although long since reduced in numbers by constant warfare with the Teutonic invaders, is probably not altogether extinct. But even if we regarded the fair-haired type of to-day as inclusively Teutonic in origin, its relative scarcity would only show how small the Teutonic element in Ireland actually is. Again, it is probable that the Celts were racially mixed at the time of their immigration from

## The Scottish Review

continental Europe, and that therefore a certain amount of the Mediterranean element in the population of Gaeldom to-day may be due to this early admixture, and not solely to the survival of the dark Mediterranean peoples of pre-Celtic Ireland and Scotland.

But though *racial* "types" are easily distinguishable in Ireland to-day, as in all other European countries, even among the Basques, once supposed to be a homogeneous "race," it is important to remember that for centuries these types have been fused into a *national* and cultural unity. The racial and other types have been alluded to here, partly in pursuance of the general plan of these articles, and partly because false and erroneous theories have been, and still are, scattered abroad, with the intention of trying to prove that there is no such thing as an Irish nation, an utterly false contention, as any unprejudiced student of Irish history is well aware. What were once alien elements have long since been absorbed and assimilated, and to-day many of the descendants of the Gall are to be numbered among the staunchest upholders of the Irish national cause, as has indeed been the case now and again throughout the centuries. The English government and the capitalist class may exploit *religious* differences for their own ends, as they do in Belfast, but that undoubted fact does not invalidate in the slightest degree the morally indisputable claims of Ireland to the full sovereign rights of a nation.

The union of all those of Irish birth or descent has always been one of the aims of the Irish patriot, an aim which, apart from the deliberate interference of the outside enemy, has met with a gratifying measure



## The Celt in Ireland

of success. As Mrs. Green justly remarks: "To the Irish patriot all who lived in the common country owed, like all other peoples, their first loyalty to the land that encompassed them with its skies, and fed them with the fatness of its fields, and nourished them with the civilisation of its dead. . . . For it is a signal fact that Irish education never lost sight of a national union; it never ceased, from the gatherings at Tara down through the centuries, to stir the people of Ireland with the remembrance of their common inheritance in all that shapes the thought and spiritual life of a people."

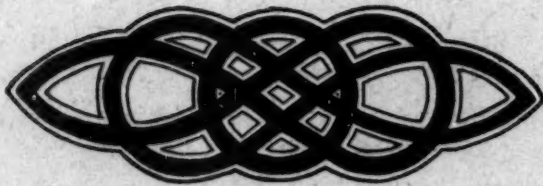
The history of Ireland, like that of Scotland and other countries, shows that the idea of the *nation* is a higher conception than that of a race, or an empire, or a class, or a sect. No nation has suffered more for its national faith than has the Irish nation, no nation has been more persecuted by its enemies, and no nation will better deserve those full national rights which may yet, in the good providence of God, crown its centuries-old work in the cause of freedom and liberty. Irish nationality, said Pádraic Mac Piarais, one of the noblest of the Nationalists of this generation, is an "ancient spiritual tradition; one of the oldest and most august traditions in the world . . . We are the voice of an idea which is older than any empire, and will outlast every empire. . . . The nation is of God, the empire is of man—if it be not of the devil."

After the rapid decline of the Gaelic language in Ireland in the nineteenth century, largely owing to an alien educational system, followed by the logical consequences of a decline of national feeling, it has been the

## The Scottish Review

good fortune of the present century to witness a remarkable revival of national sentiment, following on the work of the language movement. Although in these matters, we in Scotland are behind our Irish kinsmen, yet we can claim that we have started on the right path. The junior partner in the ancient Gaelic commonwealth has made a notable beginning as regards the work of national restoration. What the future may have in store for this movement remains to be seen. Meantime, Scottish Nationalists offer to the Irish Republic the best of good wishes, and venture also to express the hope that in the days to come the relationship between the two countries will be as intimate and as cordial as it was in former times.

H. C. MACNEACAIL.



## How Would it Do?

*Un peu de chaque chose, et rien de l'ensemble, à la  
Francoise.*—MONTAIGNE.

### CHAPTER I.



THE young Englishman, Evergreen (late of the Department of Information in London), came to see me yesterday, and as is our wont, we fell to discussing high affairs of State.

"How would it do," says he, "if——."

"How would it do," I testily cut in, "if pigs had wings, and human nature were something very different from what we know it to be?"

And with that I sent him about his business.

### CHAPTER II.

When he was gone, I fell to thinking on Evergreen, which I am little apt, or fond, to do.

"Who knows," said I to myself, "but that his imbecile refrain (like most commonplace people Evergreen is much given to wearisome repetitions) of 'How would it do?' conceals some profound dialectical truth, which a man of intelligence has but to draw out in order to soar to the greatest heights of human knowledge?" This idea pleased me. I turned it over, curiously, this way and that in my mind; and presently I fell upon a plan.

# The Scottish Review

## CHAPTER III.

This is not a philosophical treatise : at the same time, I cannot well hope to compass my design in writing these lines without first descending to some few particulars touching the grounds of the philosophic faith that is in me. These necessary particulars shall be stated with the utmost possible brevity ; for well do I know the public repugnance to large expositions of the nature I indicate.

## CHAPTER IV.

Since first I came to years of discretion and reasoning, it has always seemed to me that our modern manner of philosophising is wrong. I confess myself a believer in the world, or rather universe, of Abstractions ; and I prefer Universals to Particulars as means to acquire absolute knowledge. I think that Plato's Theory of Ideas is the key to truth, and that experience (of which we are apt to make so great a to-do) is but the waste and dross which flows from the wine-press of the system we inhabit. I do not deny but that these waste products may have their subordinate uses, just as, in the province of industry and commercial undertaking in general, the drosses created by the mechanical processes employed therein can be, and often are, turned to man's account—not, indeed, as capital elements, but as minor and very secondary constituents, or principles, of trade.

My next position is this, that we require but a universal formula of sufficient strength and adaptability in order to effect the necessary connection be-



## How Would It Do?

tween "Seeming"—to use the Platonic expression—and Absolute Knowledge. It will be recollected that Plato spent the greatest part of his philosophic life in trying to discover, or to forge, the missing link between Universals or Abstractions and Particulars or Experience. Before he died, he failed in, or rather laid aside, that great task. His *ignis fatuus* was Greek political life, which he allowed to seduce him from his pursuit of real knowledge, and to involve him in a network of inconsistencies and contradictions by reason of his too great regard for mere Experience. In the following pages, I shall endeavour to do my best to profit by the mistakes of Plato. I shall descend, or rather rise, to the Megarian manner in a spirit of absolute detachment from, and indifference to, the vulgar phenomena of our system; and the wings wherewith I shall equip myself for this short flight will be the formula given in the opening chapter of this little *excursus*.

### CHAPTER V.

#### *Of Human Nature.*

Human nature is vitiated by three cardinal vices, which are, in the order of their gravity and the frequency of their occurrence—Ignorance, Greed, and Selfishness. These three conspire, daily and hourly, to corrupt mankind. They are at the bottom of all the ills and mischiefs that afflict our species; each in its turn, and the whole in a body, convert what was doubtless intended to be a habitable planet into a shambles or a madhouse.

## The Scottish Review

Now, particular vices, as particular rich profligate men, employ their own pimps. The tried, trusted, and, in the sense of longevity of service, venerable pimp to Ignorance is Education. The effect of Education, according as we moderns practise it, is to confirm prejudice ; to diffuse error ; to propagate barbarity ; and to poison the well-springs of the milk of human-kindness which God has placed, as a fount, in every feeling bosom.

It is obvious that a manner and system of Education that are based on utility cannot do otherwise than to augment the springs of man's natural selfishness and greed. If I am cast out into the world, and told to shift for myself, to "get on," and to "make money" ; what is there to prevent me (apart from a scruple of eleatic inspiration), from joining myself to the countless hosts of bandits and egoists that I see around me ? Why should A slave in order that B may enjoy ; and why should B revel in luxury in order that A may play the part of silly bubble to his sweater's ignoble appetites and passions ?

What is the true end of man ? That is the principal consideration to which regard should be had in this life. Is it to describe the utilitarian circle ? If that be his real purpose, then the manner of his education, as the moral complexion of his nature, is very well calculated to promote that object. The hand of Ignorance rocks his cradle ; his first tottering steps are guided by the beldame, whose name is Prejudice ; in the fulness of his powers, he exerts his faculties in order to the cheating of his fellow-men ; and death inscribes his tombstone with the virtues he flouted and outraged in life.

## How Would It Do?

When you and I, gentle reader, shall come to lie on our death-beds, what will we think, assuming that we have acquired, and cultivated, the reasoning faculty? If we see, directing our declining gaze outwardly, fat barns, laden orchards, and teeming fields all around us, but are sensible that the scrivener who has prepared our last Deed of Settlement is but the fore-runner of beneficiaries more greedy than the worms; where withal shall we be elated? Was it for this contemptible end that we were born into the world—to do our duty in that state of life to which, not God, but man has been pleased to call us; to indulge the material side of our nature at the expense of the spiritual; and, finally, to descend to oblivion like the beasts that perish, and with our mouths filled with the dust and ashes of worldly vanities?

Pity the rich that lie on their death-beds, and to whom now, at this last hour, has suddenly come a certain turn of reasoning, a belated inkling of the divine truth! But what shall we say as to the last mental state of the Poor, to whom has been vouchsafed a similar opening in the lowering clouds that canopy their lives? The hand of conscious gain may smooth the dying rich man's pillow. Of what strange ethical shifts, too, are the votaries of the creed of Dives capable, when pushed to it! Depend on it, chequered like the tartan are the ethical straws that float before the fading vision of the average wealthy citizen *in articulo mortis*. Doubtless, all is not gain that glitters. Nevertheless, though that should be revealed, as by a final stroke of Providence, yet to the aspiring rich there are certain recognised compensations; and the title of these to work up some

## The Scottish Review

sort of worldly substitute for a spiritual resignation it were but charity to leave unimpugned.

But what of the Poor, I ask again? If their awakening to the futility of a life of toil and squalor comes at all, is it not plain that they must turn their faces to the wall of eternity fortified with none of the solaces (contemptible though these may be in the opinion of every reasoning man) derived to the rich by reason of their circumstances? Come, let us quit cant, and talk truth! What shall it profit me, if to gain a "living-wage," I have lost my own soul? In that event, will not my death-bed state be infinitely worse than my cradle circumstances? Assuming that I escape the parish, to be buried at the expense of my "Club" or Union is hardly a glorious exit; and, remember, the body has its dignities as well as the soul. I have toiled all night, and have taken nothing. The true ends, as the real meaning of life, have passed by me, like distant ships in the night, or some speeding motor-car, whose dust has filled my eyes and mouth. Eternity? Yes, there is that: the common bourne of rich and poor, no doubt. But, tell me, how or what shall eternity profit me, if these chains of circumstances wherewith my soul is loaded refuse to give way before the stroke of Death? I have lived my life (such as it was), unseeingly—in blind and unquestioning obedience to vulgar precept. I have had no time in which to cry a halt, in order to take stock of my psychological surroundings. I have been fool enough to engage in that maddest and most ruinous of all gambles, "the struggle for existence." The "system" (the false invention of dunces and knaves), by which I thought



## How Would It Do?

to win from the tables a decent competence for myself, has cast me out, a sorry wretch, broken in health and self-respect, and cleared of his uttermost farthing. What, then, is eternity to me, who, in life, have made no provision against the hour of death; who have toed the line of the soulless exploiters of human nature; and who now, in this, the last day, can discern naught before me, or behind me, or on either side of me, but a vast dreary waste, dotted here and there, perchance, with a blasted growth of spiritual hopes and opportunities?

If we must found, let us at all events found upon this, that human nature is what it is—a bundle of sorry vices and contradictions, and that our manner of life, conjoined to our ways of education, are designed, not to improve us, but to foment and aggravate the ill passions and appetites wherewith our nature is charged. Let us get out of the silly habit of thinking that this or that matters; that the world will cease to revolve on its axis, and that the oceans will incontinently disappear into the bowels of the earth, if we fail to respond to the call of the syren at cock-crow. Nothing matters, but our own improvement, which involves that of our neighbours. If mankind—especially the working portion of it—could but get elementary truths such as these into their heads, then indeed might there be some hope for humanity, and more for education. Then would there be a true turning round of the eye of the soul of our natures; and the Platonic paradise would be gained.

# The Scottish Review

## CHAPTER VI.

### *Of Government.*

Spinoza says somewhere that the end of Government is freedom ; but who would think it, judging by its first beginnings, and its latest effects ? Government, as civilised man practises it, is a despotism, characterised by alternating sallies of silly benevolence and horrid cruelty. Constitutions are supposed to be established in fitness, whereas everyone knows that their foundations are paper ; and the crowning fiction of all is, that laws aim at justice.

If man is indeed " a political animal," it is astonishing how successfully he has hitherto concealed, or obstructed, his presiding genius. You will find more of order in an ant's nest than in the most well-conducted human States. Look, too, into the history of this supposed political creature ; and what do you find ? A large and continued scene of bloodshed and turmoil, disunion, chicanery, lying, ignorance, bad faith, treachery, greed, brutality—in fine, of every conceivable species of vice, folly, and villainy. Our latest imbecility is to go about to " end war," by waging the most bloody and ruinous one in the authentic story of our species.

The political history of mankind is nothing but a continuous record of the most egregious shifts. If it can be truthfully predicted of any one that he lives a hand-to-mouth existence, the Statesman is that man. And writers on jurisprudence, as well international as national, would appear to exist merely to render, with

## How Would It Do?

their dark and contradictory *obiter dicta*, pre-existing confusion a thousand times worse confounded.

Plato's notion of getting the world to submit to a dictatorship of Philosophers is not to be entertained for a moment. In the first place, the world does not breed doctors enough to heal the sores of that science, let alone to physic the sick into something like decent mental health. Nor, as matters now stand, is it probable that it will do so ever. In the second place, the world is hardly likely, so long as Statesmen are forthcoming, to choose wise men, as rulers, in room of the reverse.

The root of the mischief of which I here particularly complain is this, that government, instead of being based on Ideas, is founded in "Extension," which, in my point of view, is Experience. It is in the sand of man's relations with his fellow-man that the foundations of that structure have been marked out, and are laid, instead of in the rock constituting the summit of the mount of the "Theory of Good." Government should resemble the sun, whose rays strike downwards from the heavens; and the quarters to which we should be impelled to direct our gaze, in the hope of receiving from them our temporal salvation, should be the starry heights consecrated to Abstract Science. It is true that he whose mind is charged with abstractions, and whose eyes are fixed on the vault of the heavens, may sustain falls, or come into violent collision with some one whose vision, as whose feet, are always on the earth. But mishaps of this kind will matter little in the long-run, provided society ultimately attains to the height of the wise man's reasonable ambition.

# The Scottish Review

## CHAPTER VII.

### *Of Public Opinion.*

'Tis an easy thing to stigmatise Public Opinion as a hydra-headed dunce ; and the temptation to refuse to keep all terms with Convention is, to some men, as an itch that excoriates.

Seneca said that as often as he ventured his mind into the society of his fellow-men, he withdrew it disgusted with their absurdities.

The Solitaries of the Egyptian desert carried their intolerance of the profane into caves and caverns deserted of wild beasts ; but I can find little in their collective wisdom that is worth recalling, save this maxim : " Flee from that love which subsisteth by means of the things which are corrupt, for with them a man also passeth away, and is destroyed " ; or this : " Human care and worry and anxiety about the things of the body destroy the faculties of knowledge and expression in a man, and leave him like unto a piece of dry wood."

Human knowledge, to be real, must be derived from, and tried by, what really is, according to Lord Bacon. We are told by him to dislodge from our minds those idols—those false and superficial notions—that are taken from vulgar opinion. But vulgar opinion is not founded in abstract truth ; it is the empirical result of human experience. This philosopher pretended to the discovery of truth by means of observation and experience ; but it is to be observed that the system he created, or rather revived, is a non-



## How Would It Do?

dialectical *cul-de-sac*. To seek to explain the infinite by means of the finite is manifestly absurd : to depend upon experiment and observation for truth is tantamount to burning our air-ships when we fain would fly.

Doubtless, Public Opinion is in the main little respectable, because it generally springs from wrong notions, or from ideas not properly compounded and compared. Ignorance vitiates it at the outset, and Prejudice steps in to increase the resulting darkness. What would you of principles that are ill laid, and are out of perpendicular to the truth ?

Nevertheless, the remedy for this ill is not, as many have pretended, and some still affect to believe, in the leading of large crusades against it. Public opinion is a sturdy vagabond, for whose rustic cudgel the rapier of reason is no likely match. Nor is it one against which wise men should be encouraged to go up, armed only with the Eastern device of compassing justice by fasting. In fine, Public Opinion is one of those ills which, impossible to be cured, as matters now stand, must needs be endured. But a temporary submission to the inscrutable ordinances of popular superstition and folly should neither reconcile our consciences with the existence of that tyranny, nor destroy our belief in the possibility of its removal by educational means.

### CHAPTER VIII.

#### *Of Learning.*

There is little profit in the reading of many books, unless, at the same time that the eye travels, the mind acts.

## The Scottish Review

As a rule, men are too much given to reading, and too little apt to think. Some of the brightest geniuses that have ever lived have been content with few books. The source of true learning consists, not in book-lore, but in a certain "tumult of the mind," as Hobbes (who was a gross materialist), might express it.

To obey the ancient adage, and know oneself, is the best learning. Carlyle disputed this; but the sour judge of many fools himself fell a victim at long last to the foul air that pervaded his court. The introspective method, if generally applied, would reform the whole world in no long space of time; for, in that event, the light enkindled in each one of us would shine forth unto all; and mankind would go forward, in the effulgence created by the common endeavour, not to *Nirvana*, but to a life of enduring understanding and happiness. Let us learn so that we may know our own souls: learning bent to any other end is mere trifling, if eternity is the substance, and this life is but shadow.

### CHAPTER IX.

#### *Of the two ends of man.*

Of the two ends of man, the first begins with life and ceases with death, whilst the second begins with death and is continued to life everlasting. Therefore, the truly wise man will be little less solicitous of the things of to-day than he will be so touching those of to-morrow. For if a man neglects his soul, and misapplies the energies of his body in this life, what guarantee has he that the immortal part of him will be hereafter in any better case? Let him choose justly

## How Would It Do?

*now* : then, but in no other event, will the hour of his death be to him but as a stepping forth from dawn into the effulgence of the fullness of endless day.

To know how to make a proper use of life is more important than to despise it and death. The first is vouchsafed us : therefore it were poor economy, and worse gratitude, to affect to condemn it. We should seek to make our lives tolerable to ourselves, and a cause of spiritual well doing in our neighbours, by improving our lives to the utmost advantage, which we may best do by rebuking by our conduct the commonplace values of the worldling. If one should say to me, "What would you have? What can I do? I must needs live?" the answer is not, "I see not the necessity," but "Choose you an honourable and a sufficiently spiritual mode of existence."

No greater cant could be preached, or heresy uttered, than that we are what our circumstances make us. Has the first intelligent Cause of all things bound me over, from eternity, a silly slave to circumstance? Is the rabble my preordained judge; and yon fool that I descry leisurely descending the hill-slopes of Convention, and bearing aloft in his hands the tablets of the Laws of Dives and Company; must I bow down myself before him, and worship him?

It is well said that the highest form of valour consists in moral courage; and we best show moral courage, and so prove ourselves likeliest to God, when we order our lives and govern our conduct, not to please men, but to exalt principle.

Life has no meaning unless it be designed to this particular end, that we save our souls alive. Take

## The Scottish Review

away from existence the conception of eternity, and what will be there? These sounds strike my ears as those of unknown footsteps in an empty house at midnight. I tremble, and am afraid.

### CHAPTER X.

#### *Of the Epic.*

The decline of the vogue for Epic poetry is one of the greatest calamities of modern times. The change that has taken place in the public taste in this respect involves, not only a grievous loss to letters, but it implies also a certain vulgarising of the common mind. Warning symptoms of so grave an import are not to be lightly set aside: they point to the existence of mischiefs which, if neglected, will grow with impunity, and, finally, will go far to ruin the whole republic of letters.

The cloud which hides from us the sun of all Poetry at the present time has a double density. In the first place, there is that want of correspondence between art and mind which betokens the decay of the public taste, and which recalls to us the saying that Death is the consequence of a want of corporeal correspondence with environment. Secondly, there is the failure of creative effort in that great province of letters to which I here refer, which would seem to favour the notion that, after all, Literature is only one of divers branches of trade, and that it obeys the law of "supply and demand" as fully and as obsequiously as the others do.

Doubtless, in this case, this same law of "supply and demand" springs from a double cause: it is



## How Would It Do?

dictated as well by psychological as by material considerations ; but I do not see that that fact excuses it the more. The decline of taste leads to the suspension of creative effort ; but the subservience of conscious Art to the dictates of the public taste is not a thing to be admired : rather is it to be emphatically censured and ridiculed.

Epic poetry is to the soul of man what wings are to the bird. True poetry of this character raises us up from the ground, and transports us into those regions wherein is everlasting song ; and there, in boundless space, the soul hovers, enraptured with the contemplation of the divine perfections.

### CHAPTER XI.

#### *Of Old Age.*

Probably on no other subject has a greater amount of cant been uttered than in connection with that of Old Age. Among the ancients who touched this topic, the Greeks are to be the most esteemed ; who rated Old Age at its proper value, since they set it down as an infliction. The Romans, on the other hand, blew up the coal of false sentiment in this respect ; and it is mainly owing to their injurious ravings that wrong notions as to Old Age are now rife among us.

How can Old Age be otherwise than disagreeable, since that period of man's life embraces the time when the eagles begin to gather together in expectation of the coming feast ? In the shape of bodily infirmities, first one bird-of-prey, and then another, and next a third, and so on, are discerned, floating like dark specks,

## The Scottish Review

on the horizon of our existences. But presently, they draw nearer to us ; and soon we know them to be the fell vermin unto whom are shortly to be delivered up, for a feast, our doomed carcasses. That sinister band sails in towards us from every quarter. At a little distance from us, they, as it were, alight, and fold their wings, and grimly settle down to ward and watch. Soon will the glazing eye and stiffening limbs instruct those cruel sentinels that the hour for which they wait is come.

Inasmuch as the coming of Old Age to us signifies the approaches of those causes which must shortly terminate our period here on earth, it follows from thence that those are very ridiculously employed, who are engaged in singing the praises of this melancholy state. The best that we can do is, to accept with resignation, and with as much of dignity as we may, the stroke which can be no ways averted. Certain that the Executioner is at hand, and that further flight is useless, we shall thrust out our heads from the palanquin of life, and, like Cicero, await, with resignation, the fatal stroke. To go about to pretend that Old Age is no ill, and that all our natural apprehensions drawn from that source are either mere figments of too lively imaginations, or are the effects of too great an attachment to the things of this life, is vain, and no remedy. Instead of so casting dust into our own mental eyes, rather should we clarify our vision by acknowledging that the mortal part of us is not to die without grave disturbance to the edifice in which the immortal moiety is also lodged. If the flesh is sick, will it not, in view of the intimate relations that subsist

## How Would It Do?

between the two, communicate its distempers to the spirit? Depend on it, the dualism which informs, guides, sustains, and animates our nature is not to be sundered, save at the expense of pains like unto those that usher its advent into the world.

Nevertheless, a just sense of the disabilities and miseries of Old Age should not be suffered any ways to damp our spiritual ardour. In proportion as our bodies decay, our belief in the great truths of the Abstract-world should flourish. Soon, these will be all that is left to us; and it is with a favouring gale from thence, gently swelling the sails of our ghostly barque, that, finally, we should put out to sea.

### CHAPTER XII.

#### *Of Punctuation.*

Nowadays, we punctuate our lives as ill as we do our MSS. We are as careless and slovenly about one as we are so touching the other. The greatest part of both these mischiefs springs from the indecent haste we are in to have done with whatever temporarily engages our attention. "Events move rapidly now-a-days," we are told on all sides. Life is described as a "constant rush"; and we see men and women hurrying to and fro through it as though their one aim and object were to give colour to the notion that haste is a virtue, and speed a dire necessity of human existence. It is astonishing how many potentially sane people are fallen bubbles to ridiculous notions of this kind.

Human progress has been compared, and not

## The Scottish Review

inaptly likened, to a "Merry-go-round." The riders seat themselves on the mock horses: the whistle sounds: the machinery is set in motion: the band strikes up a merry tune: the rustic cavaliers wave their *adieux*—and, in a trice, back they are again at the place from which they started. People who compass their lives in a hurry are much like the simple patrons of the "Merry-go-rounds." Like them, they move swiftly in a circle, to the accompaniment of a deal of noise. Like them, too, they are no ways wiser when they have finished their journey than they were when they mounted their hobby-horses and set out on it.

It would be an act of charity to take these perspiring triflers by the ear, and to whisper to them that need for so prodigious hurry on their part does not exist. Let the devil take the hindmost, if he has a mind to it. Who cares? On second thoughts, probably not even the sable layer of snares himself. Time and tide will survive the shock, though an individual here and there should refrain from committing suicide by running to catch a train on a full stomach. A hundred years ago, the world was much as we see it now: a hundred years hence it will have altered little; and the little it has altered in the past, or is like to change in the future, is little worth troubling about. All signs of undue haste are either the marks of designs improperly proportioned to the ends their undertakers pursue, or they are those of natures that are constitutionally incapable of understanding the true object of life. The first are in a hurry because they have neglected to prepare timeously for contingencies to which, in the ordinary course of events, their mode of



## How Would It Do?

life is bound to give rise. The second are ridiculous because they go about the world as though it were a huge drum, and each man in it were a dried pea unto himself. In both cases, the febrile symptoms of which I speak are the marks of a common distemper; and what is bred in the bone will come out in the flesh of one as certainly as what is caught by the other will appear to demonstration in all their measures and motions.

I have said above that nowadays we punctuate our lives as ill as we do our MSS. To pause to think is not a habit favoured of many of us; nor are we used to stand still, and take thought as to the successive crises through which we are fond to be hurried, and in which we engage for no just cause, or any discoverable reason. We are apt to imagine that so long as we revolve, like moths, round the flickering taper of our daily concerns (which we mistake for the grand flare of human destiny), we are fulfilling the first and most important of nature's laws; and the faster we revolve the better we are pleased. Adjurations to consider carefully what we are about, as warnings designed to diminish the agitation of our purposeless flutterings, are lost on us. To be up and "doing something" no matter what, or how ill soever our means, as our measures, may be proportioned to the end we pursue; to cast ourselves headlong into the "hurly-burly of existence"; to live what is styled a "crowded life," which is, to make of existence a ceaseless and feverish quest of money, ambition, or pleasure, or the three; to be jealous participants of the ignoble "rush" in which the most of our unhappy neighbours are em-

## The Scottish Review

broiled ; such, and their like, according to many of us, are the prime necessities to which all flesh has been made subject, and which, if we spurn them at all, we shall neglect at our peril.

We should punctuate our lives as carefully as we should do so our MSS., and then both will be as perfect as far as a proper regard to that article can render them whole. A life that is compassed without a break, as it were ; that is hurried through without a single pause or stop, from first to last, will be found to be, on a narrow view of it, as little intelligible, and as little seemly, as that writing will appear so, wherein the author has neglected to punctuate his sentences, or has allowed someone else to discharge that duty for him in a perfunctory and slovenly fashion. The highest form of wisdom is to be wise, not after, but before, the event ; and, in that respect, Petrarch, who knew well how to punctuate his own life, and laid down rules to that end for others, excelled.

RUARAIÐH ARASCAIN IS MHAIRR.

*(To be continued).*



## *Chronicles of the Quarters*

### *The National Memorial.*

Our current impression contains the French text of the National Memorial, to which are attached the names of the politicians who have given their support to it. With respect to the many Unions, Societies, and Clubs whose Executives have subscribed the Memorial, it has been judged more convenient to omit these at the present conjuncture ; but a list of them will be appended to the document to be carried, or sent, to Congress. Whether the Memorial will be solemnly carried, or merely dismissed by post, to Congress will entirely depend on whether those in charge of this matter judge the first course advisable, or they think the second sufficient, which is a question that will be determined by the future conduct of the Congress itself. The French version of the Memorial is intended for distribution on the Continent : the English version has already been widely published.

### *The Memorial and the Peace Conference.*

The purpose of the Memorial is to draw general attention to the unsinkable national rights of the Scottish Republic ; and we think that end in a fair way to be achieved, whatever may be the event of the Congress itself, whose members are little likely, unless there occurs a miracle of reformation in respect to their outlook, manners, and methods, to take the slightest notice of the Scots Memorial. For our parts, we entertain no illusions touching the heads of the Congress's present composition, temper, and designs. The most pessimistic notions that have been indulged on those matters are no ways more gloomy than those to which, with all the desire in the world to take a roseate view of the sable genii now presiding over the European " Melting-Pot," we have lately succumbed. In this matter, we pin our faith, not so much to " direct," as to indirect, " action." Unless the Congress is reformed from without, or, yielding to the pressure of external sentiment, reforms itself by blossoming into something which presently it is not (a Peace Conference) democratic faith in it as a healer of wounds and a dresser

## The Scottish Review

and mender of sores, already undone, is doomed to utter extinction ; and, with the last state of Europe rapidly gravitating towards an aggravated reproduction of the first, he will be sanguine indeed that shall continue to look to the quarter we indicate for humanitarian promotion, together with all those other blessings which were expected, at one time, to flow from thence. The Memorial will serve its turn and purpose if it suffices to rediscover Scotland to political Europe ; and that object we judge in a fair way to be served. For the rest, a little self-determination on the part of the Scottish people themselves should complete the business to which the signatories of the Memorial have patriotically set their hands.

### *The Paris Conference and Mr. Wilson.*

There are one or two points in Mr. Wilson's recent political career on which we may be sure that the future historians of Europe will concentrate all the energies of a very lively curiosity, assuming that what is presently dark is not brought to light before they shall come to address themselves to the task we indicate. The first of these problems consists of the question of why did the United States go to war with the Central Powers without first securing from the Allies pledges and guarantees as to the nature of the peace to be followed by the success of their common arms. The second is, why did Mr. Wilson join with the Allies in depressing Germany beyond that point at which she was deprived of all power to renew the war, and at which, too, she was obliged to change her Kaiser for a President ? One would be inclined to think that, as well out of regard for the success of his schemes as Peace-maker, as out of respect to his own word as a friend, not indeed to German militarism and autocracy, but to the German people at large, Mr. Wilson had done well to stay his hand, and to refuse to be a party to those successive transactions whereby the German nation has been humiliated beyond the point to which it was necessary to depress that people, in order to convince them, firstly, that they had lost the war, and must not think of its renewal under any circumstances ; and, secondly, that a drastic change in the form of their government was an essential preliminary to the establishment of a lasting and an equitable peace. It may be, of course, that President Wilson and his advisers of the United States, have answers, in all ways full and sufficient, to return to these questions ; and until our



## Chronicles of the Quarters

information on these heads is a deal more perfect than it is at present, it would be unfair to allow comment on them to exceed the bounds of mere conjecture. It were folly, however, to disguise the fact that, meantime, plain-dealers all the world over are wondering why the United States went to war on no bottom at all; and, so far as Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points are concerned, why that statesman, before he plunged into the conflict, did not exploit the financial and military necessities of the Allies in order to oblige them to agree to his "Points"; and, finally, how he hopes to secure a "clean" peace by estranging the German people, whose friend he early announced himself to be.

### *"Acid Tests" for the "League of Nations" and Mr. Wilson.*

It seems to us that Mr. Wilson's actions have worn, from the very outset of his crusade, a complexion a good deal less prepossessing than his aspirations have uniformly carried. The President's speeches make fine reading; but the concrete results of the Paris Congress are, up to the present, vastly disappointing when considered relatively to them. But however that may be, there are two exceedingly acidulated tests in store for Mr. Wilson and his "League of Nations," and by these both will be judged, not only by posterity, but by all who belong to the existing order of reasoning men. The first of these tests is the question of Alsace-Lorraine, the second being that of Ireland. In the first case, the historical and ethnological facts of it require that the people of that province shall be afforded an opportunity of freely determining their own political future. With regard to Ireland, a Republican government, based on the suffrages of the majority of the people, already exists in that country, which being so, England should be invited, under pain of being excluded the League in the event of her refusal to conform her conduct to its principles, to evacuate Ireland, and to leave that country to its own devices. These are the two "acid tests," which except his League pass with, as it were, flying colours, Mr. Wilson and the Congress will have congressed in vain.

### *Germany and the Congress of Paris.*

The subject of the German national mentality is admittedly a difficult one, inasmuch as discussion of that matter is complicated

## The Scottish Review

by the fact that, under adversity, the German national character is apt to shew forth traits and to reveal qualities of which, under different conditions, few would imagine it to be susceptible, or capable. A recent "interview" published in the London *Morning Post* introduces us to Herr Erzberger, whose views as to the Fourteen Points and the Blockade are detailed at considerable length. Herr Erzberger insists that Germany's acceptance of the terms of the armistice was based on the first, and on nothing else; and that the second is a cruel and unconscionable means of distressing a country which all the world knows to be in no condition to defend itself. Only at the end of the "interview" did Herr Erzberger give any indication that the other side of the "activist" medal has been so much as even glanced at by him; and, we imagine, that it is in this connection that future historians of the recent war will discover their most abundant stores of matter of reflexion and comment. Asked his idea "of what would happen if Germany declined to sign the Peace, on the ground that its terms were not in conformity with Mr. Wilson's principles, Herr Erzberger replied, 'We should neither make peace nor war. Of course, it would be open to the Entente to resume hostilities, but I doubt whether their troops would be enthusiastic about it.'"

### *The Germans and War's Substitutes.*

The German publicists themselves admit that the national mind is little elastic, and is too much given to official formalism. Having been bent almost exclusively to war, it were absurd, perhaps, to expect of that genius, in the circumstances in which it was placed, a corresponding measure of fertility of invention and resource in respect of war's alternatives and substitutes. Nevertheless, on the principle of the saying that to place all one's eggs in a single basket is bad policy, it is manifestly better to go into battle with a string in reserve to one's bow than without it. Doubtless, all the energies of the German military chiefs were required to be bent to the single object of securing victory in the field for the national arms, and, on that account, they are to be held absolved of the charge of neglecting to consider the alternatives to purely military action. But the late government itself, which should have had eyes for other things besides the perfecting the German military means and measures, cannot be excused for having signally failed to rise

## Chronicles of the Quarters

superior to the sort of obsessions of which we speak. Though the late German government had forty years in which to prepare as well for war, as for its consequences and contingencies, yet the U-Boat campaign was, apparently, its sole device to defeat the intentions of a Blockade which, unless it were broken, or otherwise successfully countered, must inevitably entail defeat, if not death, to Germany by slow starvation. The U-Boat campaign failed to effect its purpose, and Germany starved, because the German mind, as represented in its rulers, was too obsessed with war, its "philosophy," appliances, and appurtenances, to address itself to the discovery of some sure means by which the disasters that would certainly threaten the fatherland, in the event of the collapse of its military measures, might be averted. It would appear that a similar inability to think in terms other than those of "blood and iron" paralysed Germany when the end came; and the Kaiser announced, by his flight, that the military game was up. At that crisis of her destiny, Germany was shamefully deserted of her boasted "intellectuals," not one of whom, apparently, had sufficient fertility of resource and independence of mind to suggest that a policy of "Passive Resistance" should take the place of that whose event was the signing of an armistice, under whose cumulative effects the German people is like to groan and writhe for many years to come. A people that places all its eggs in one basket may possibly be excused for devoting all their attention to that basket so long as its contents remain intact; but if to place all one's eggs in one basket is folly, how much greater fools must those be who have no eyes but for their eggs, even after these have come to irremediable grief? We do not say that Herr Erzberger is otherwise than an extremely intelligent person; but like most of his countrymen of this age he would appear to be lacking in imaginative daring and mental resource.

### *Physical Force and the "League of Nations."*

As its sanctions in the last resort are drawn from physical force, and as armies and navies are to be tolerated in the "new," as in the old Europe, the Parisian conception of a "League of Nations" is little likely to commend itself to sound democrats. It is obvious that if the foundations of the League are laid in physical force, not only is a principle thereby admitted to it which is antagonistic to the professed purport and spirit of the League, but the seeds of future

## The Scottish Review

inter-League wars are, *ipso facto*, simultaneously sown. The probability is, therefore, that, unless the ultimate form of the suggested League is rendered something radically different to what it now is, democratic sentiment in Europe will unite to set it aside, and to erect in its room some international covenant that shall be free of the objectionable features characterising the existing proposals. A League, or rather Brotherhood, of Nations based on physical force is an obvious absurdity; it is more than that, however, since it is a positive menace to the future peace of Europe; and for both these reasons the European peoples would do well to instruct their present rulers that the position they have assumed in regard to this matter is untenable, and must be evacuated in favour of notions better designed to promote the common good, and to execute the popular will, whose aim is the abolition of war, and the drawing together of the nations in the bonds of an enduring amity and lasting concord. Indeed, now is the acceptable time for the combined democracies of Europe to concert common measures for the elimination of the principle of physical force from all international understandings and covenants. If the rulers were really minded as they profess to be moved, they would "scrap" their armies and navies, whose continuance is plainly incompatible with the spirit of the reforms which they pretend to have at heart; but as the "war to end war" has been waged utterly in vain, so far as the aims and conduct of the present European rulers are concerned, recourse must now be had to other men and different measures, in order to secure the ends for which, so far as the European peoples are concerned, the war was fought.

### *Physical Force as ultimate sanction.*

By means of illustrations drawn from history, it would be easy to prove that European civilisation periodically breaks down because it is exposed, from time to time, to the furious assaults of physical force. Therefore, the removal of the cause which is responsible for so deplorable a state of affairs would appear to be the only sure remedy that can be had. The Powers-that-be, however, evidently think, and intend, differently, since in their pretended League of Nations they are about to secure a new lease of life for this fatal principle. Face to face with so critical a posture of affairs, what should the People (who wage the wars), as opposed to the



## Chronicles of the Quarters

Rulers, who, consciously or unconsciously, merely foment them, do? Clearly, the first thing that they should do is to procure the disbandment of the armies and the navies, which are the instruments of war, or, in the event of their not being able to accomplish that two-fold object, they should draw together, with a view to discovering some sure means by which physical force may be robbed at once of its terrors and its powers.

### *The International Value of "Direct Action."*

Hitherto, man's time, talent, energies, and wealth have been largely devoted to the improvement of the means of human destruction. In other words, instead of cultivating the contrary principle, in which his account, as a civilised being, plainly consists, man has been a silly slave to Physical Force. It is full time he was called off from that ridiculous, immoral, ruinous, and ignoble pursuit, and sharply told to go about some business more worthy of his status as a reasoning being, and better calculated to discharge the ends for which he has been placed on earth. He can best do that, it seems to us, by reversing his previous conduct, and by devoting his time, talents, energies, and wealth, not to the improvement of the means of destruction of his own species, but to the discovery of ways and methods by which those of his kind who shall draw the sword hereafter shall have it returned into their own bosoms, or at all events shivered to fragments in their hands. This necessary enquiry we denote, we commend to the attention of the revived "International." Let its brightest wits at once draw together, with a view to concerting measures having for their object the robbing Physical Force of all its powers and terrors. Out upon that man for a craven and a dunce who should seek to persuade us that the collective talent, wisdom, and fertility of resource of democratic Europe are little likely to prove equal to any such humanitarian effort as these observations denote!

### *Scotland and the Berne Conference.*

How came it to pass that Scotland was not represented at Berne? The Clyde leaders, or at all events those of them that favoured the holding this Conference, should have seen to that surely. According to most of the newspaper reports, England was represented, whilst a few allege that certain delegates spoke in name

## The Scottish Review

of "Great Britain" on that occasion, which is probably merely a reportorial euphemism indulged of complaisance, rather than extorted by fear of our "Bore-Stone Patriots." In any event, Scotland did not figure at Berne (though Ireland did); and therein is just cause of complaint against the democratic leaders in Scotland. It is true that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, in his interesting accounts of the Conference, published in *Forward*, states that the delegates spoke much of the Clyde; but his own references to that matter would appear to have been conceived and uttered in circumstances of considerable uncertainty of mind, since he speaks of his fellow-delegates from England as "conspicuously holding up the Red Flag with the Union Jack (and Scottish Lion Rampant) in its corner." We leave our readers to solve for themselves this strange riddle of political symbolism; but in doing so we beg leave to point out that the persistent boycotting of Scotland by Scotsmen is as little creditable to their intelligence as it is so to their patriotism.

### *Nationalism, Socialism, and Materialism.*

Another of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's characterisations of the Berne Conference is much more happily phrased. "One thing (he writes), has struck me very forcibly at this Conference. Nationality has been accepted by Marxian Socialists as a dominating factor in making war, and as the basis of States. That is a new emphasis. Economics and material things are not the only elements in life." Indeed, the former fact has struck Mr. MacDonald so forcibly that he adds, "I am not sure but that nationality has gone too far, and that in Europe now we have awakened antagonistic national claims which it is impossible to satisfy. The subjections of the past have bred plagues for the future." Doubtless, the abuse of a principle, no matter how excellent soever it may be *per se*, is always a pregnant source of ills and mischiefs, and is as much to be deprecated in the common interests as are subjections of the nature glanced at by Mr. MacDonald. So far as the national principle is concerned, the common interests of mankind demand for it the utmost latitude of exercise compatible with the safeguarding of society against the sallies of Chauvinism, which is the hereditary disease to which this otherwise healthy principle is prone. If, however, the "New Europe," which has been so often and so promiscuously promised us, but which unaccountably delays its advent in order to the ful-

## Chronicles of the Quarters

filment of the beneficent intentions so lavishly predicated of it by the words of its prophets, shall fail to provide these safeguards, in that event will it not prove itself as bankrupt of intellect as it is certain to be so of worldly goods?

That Socialism, not indeed as Karl Marx fixed it, who was an idealist, if ever there was one, and who detested Materialism and all its horrid works from the depths of a noble heart, but according as it has been misinterpreted and abused by many of its latter-day disciples; if, we say, modern Socialism should awake to the truth that "economics and material things are not the only elements in life," that "turning round of the eye of the soul" of the creed of which we speak would be an unspeakable gain, and should go far to redeem that "New Europe" to which we have referred, perhaps somewhat too pessimistically, above. Doubtless, the economic foundations of the Socialist Faith require to be frequently exposed to the public gaze; but too abundant and trifling statistics and tales of Capitalist greed, tyranny, perfidy, and hypocrisy, tend to corrupt and depress the spirit of man, as well as to encourage the growth of that very thing which Marx and his contemporaries laboured to destroy, namely, Materialism.

### *The Pass-word is, "Druim-ceatà."*

A recent impression of our extremely vocalised Irish contemporary, *The Voice of Labour*, contains the following:—"Further intercourse between Ireland and Scotland—between the forces of Labour in particular—and concerted action for common ends, would help the workers of both countries; and the Belfast worker is the natural link." The Belfast worker is not only the "natural link," but in him consists the key to the whole situation created by the exploitation of the industrial portions of the north of Ireland in the twin interests of Capitalism and Imperialism. Convert the Belfast worker to political common-sense, and Capitalism, as Imperialism, will be utterly undone, so far as he is concerned.

The feeling that Irish and Scots should stand together, in order to disappoint the designs of a common enemy—the English imperialists of all classes—is not, however, confined to any particular source, but is a sentiment which is nowadays pretty generally diffused throughout nationalist circles in Ireland and in Scotland. It is scarcely necessary to say that we in Scotland who desire to apply

## The Scottish Review

the principle of "Self-determination" to our own country, with a view to the destruction of Capitalist rule, and the substitution of Celtic for Teutonic civilisation, are very warm friends to the movement in question, which, we beg leave to point out in passing to other matters, has its literary and cultural, as well as its purely industrial and political, activities and aspects. We understand that it will not be long before an *ad hoc* league, reflecting the principles glanced at in these remarks, will be called into existence; and thus will history repeat itself in the form of a second Treaty of Druim-ceatà.

### *Messrs. Dilly and Dally in Ireland.*

In the bad old days before the war we heard much of policies founded in "Wait and See," "Splendid Isolation," "Masterly Inactivity," and so forth; and now, in these infinitely worse ones upon which society is lately fallen, it would appear that, so far as English relations with Ireland are concerned, the time is come for the reappearance on the stage of contemporary events of some at least of those recently "resting" political "stars." Evidently, Messrs. Dilly and Dally (whose pre-war style and title were "Wait" and "See"), have sailed for Erin. Evidently, too, there is no circle more vicious than that described by the average English (or Welsh) political mind, in the ordinary course of its nefarious operations. The English government has plainly no policy for Ireland, save that of its waiting, wrapped in the cloak of Masterly Inactivity, for something to turn up that will rid it of *Sinn Féin*, whose certain demise the ingenious political horoscope-casters of the English press have fixed for five years hence, notwithstanding all benefit, present and prospective, of a popish clergy. But two can play at the game to which the English government, in its cunning simplicity, has indiscreetly set its hand. In this coming trial of staying capabilities *in re* Devil and Baker, our hopes, as our money, are not for the powers of political darkness.





## Correspondence

### THE CELT IN SCOTLAND.

SIR,—In the current impression of *The Scottish Review*, Mr. G. M. Fraser makes some comments on my article in the previous number. As regards the list of Aberdeen merchants which I mentioned in that article, he will find a brief reference to the subject in Prof. Rait's volume on Scotland in the *Making of the Nations* series (p. 66). I regret that at present I am unable to give further details, but hope to do so later on.

Mr. Fraser's own remarks on the subject of the lists in the New Spalding Club *Miscellany* are open to some criticism. Apart from errors which may be typographical, there are no less than three others, where he wrongly transcribes the names. However, I pass that over. Mr. Fraser truly remarks that 1406-7 is not the first year mentioned in the *Miscellany* lists, and then proceeds to hint that it would be an indefensible proceeding on my part to "Wilfully pass over earlier lists." He seems to miss the point here. Admittedly, Aberdeen was a very Teutonic burgh in its early days. I expressly said so in my article. Later on, as in other burghs founded by Teutons, there was a Celtic immigration. To prove this, we must necessarily take relatively late lists of names. I should have thought this was obvious.

However, as Mr. Fraser has practically invited criticism on the earlier lists in the *Miscellany*, I will proceed to criticise his own summary of those lists. He rashly says that those lists of 1399 and 1400 "contain not a single Celtic name. Every one is English." The names are by no means all English. Of the few men mentioned in the two lists, two bear the name of Patrick, and one that of Duncan. These names are certainly not English, but Celtic, as Mr. Fraser should realise if he could but purge himself for a moment of his pro-Teutonic bias. One of the two Patricks is called Patrick More, which, no doubt, is a faulty rendering of the Gaelic Pàdruig Mór.

In the later list, that of 1406-7, referred to by Mr. Fraser, there are trade names, such as Blyndsele, Clerk, Bannerman, and Scherar.

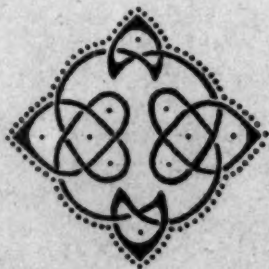
## The Scottish Review

and territorial names such as Alves and Lambyntan. (Territorial names, such as Marr and Balrain also figure in the two earlier lists). Such trade names really give no clue to the national connections of their bearers, as I explained in my article. Quite possibly some of them are the names of Celts, even though the names themselves may not be Celtic.

Finally, if Mr. Fraser will refer to the order of frequency of the burgess' names, as given in Table III. in the *Miscellany* (p. xlvi.), he will find that, of those 18 names which figure more than 50 times each in the burgess rolls, some are names which readers will definitely associate with those parts of our country allowed to be "Celtic" even by the vulgar. Such names are Menzies, Robertson, Davidson, and Donaldson, not to mention others such as Forbes, Gordon, Marr, and Leslie. The first four names alone account for one-fifth of the 1500 times, in round figures, that the eighteen names are found in the burgess lists. If we also include the last-mentioned four names, over one-half will be accounted for. Other names given in the table, such as Reid, Gray, Smith, etc., may very likely have been those of Celts in some cases, but, after the lapse of centuries it is, of course, impossible to investigate each case separately. It is evident, however, that the Celtic element, as disclosed by the table, is by no means so insignificant as Mr. Fraser thinks, in the fulness of the exuberance of his pro-Teutonic imagination.

I am, etc.,

H. C. MACNEACAIL.



itorial  
lists),  
ctions  
some  
selves

of the  
lviii.),  
times  
initely  
eltic "  
vidson,  
ordon,  
e-fifth  
ies are  
tioned  
names  
likely  
nturies

It is  
e table,  
ness of

CAIL. 7





✓